

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1880.

The Week.

THE Republican Convention was held on the 25th ult. in due course at Utica. Mr. Conkling was present and took charge of the proceedings. Mr. Chas. E. Smith, the late editor of the *Albany Evening Journal* and a leading actor in the troubles arising out of the Smyth trick about holding the primary meetings at Albany, was made both temporary and permanent chairman. A more conspicuous and effective mode both of countenancing Smyth and expressing contempt for the malcontent Albany Republicans, could hardly have been devised. The protest of the malcontents was summarily laid on the table. The delegates to the Convention were not instructed to vote for Grant as a unit, but were "called upon and instructed to use their most earnest and united efforts to secure his nomination at Chicago." The preamble of the platform gave a dismal account of the state of the country, alleging that "the safety of the nation was again imperilled by the virulent and unlawful efforts of the Democratic party to overawe and subvert State governments, . . . thereby intending to secure control of the General Government by deeds of violence and fraud." The resolutions were entirely devoted to laudation of General Grant, but the reading of them was interrupted by loud cheering for Blaine, who appears to have been the favorite of the galleries. They were passed by a vote of 217 to 180.

Mr. Conkling made a speech in which he revealed the exact nature of the danger against which General Grant is to provide. If a flaw is discovered in the returns from a single State, and the Democratic House and Senate refuse to count it, this will throw the election into the House of Representatives, which will vote by States, and by States the Republicans have a majority. This majority will, however, be got rid of by depriving Mr. Washburn, of Minnesota, and Mr. Orth, of Indiana, of their seats, because they hold the casting vote of their delegations. This done, the Democrats will have the majority by States also, and will elect their man. The way to meet this crisis is to nominate "the man who is most certain to be elected, and most certain to be lawfully and peaceably seated after he is elected"—viz., General Grant. This idea was unfortunately not worked out in detail. Mr. Washburn and Mr. Orth, if unseated, will be unseated long before the election. The Democrats will then have a majority in the House by States. Are we to understand that if Grant should seem to be elected the House and Senate will be so afraid of him that they will not venture to reject any State certificate which gives him a majority, or that if they do reject such a certificate the House will be afraid, voting by States, to elect anybody but him? If so, what will they be afraid of? What is it that is to make him more terrible to the majority in Congress than any other American citizen in a similar position? Also, suppose that they are not afraid, and do carry out the above programme, what will happen if General Grant is not satisfied? How will he "lawfully and peaceably" seat himself? It seems to us that the public is entitled to full particulars on these points. General Grant does not expect to get into the Presidency by supernatural agency. Now, if, as is always possible, the majority in Congress should, always acting under the forms of law, do what Mr. Conkling considers their worst, how will General Grant get into the Presidency?

The effort to get Smyth confirmed in the Senate at Albany was continued after the Convention with greater vigor than ever. The nomination was doubtless made as a reward for his efforts in "fixing" the primaries, and the conspicuous approval of them given at the Convention by putting Mr. Charles E. Smith, one of his confederates, in the chairmanship of course made it more incumbent

than ever on the Governor to get him the place if he could. But on Tuesday success was plainly impossible, and he withdrew his name. In the meantime Mr. Charles E. Smith, who moves to Pennsylvania, it is reported, to take charge of the *Philadelphia Press*, has begun a lawsuit with the proprietors of his old organ, the *Albany Evening Journal*, who expelled him from the editorship, and asks for a receiver of the property, so that the fight waxes warmer every day. Mr. Smith is one of the happily diminishing class of amphibious editors, one-third journalist, two-thirds "worker," who consult with the Bosses in hotels all over the State about "fixing things," draw fastian platforms for State conventions, embody the Boss view of the nation and the world in "editorials," and supply the pure milk of the word to local committees and henchmen, and "make it hot" for the Democrats during the canvass.

M. de Lesseps has "done" New York pretty thoroughly during the week, and has been received with a consideration which must be gratifying to him, but which some of the papers are a little anxious that he should not misinterpret. He made very much the same speech at the American Society of Engineers' and the Geographical Society's receptions, and at the Lotos Club's and the merchants' dinners. He had come here to enlighten the American public upon the Panama canal; should in a few days see the President and attempt to interest him in the scheme; assured his hearers that it was practicable and would pay, and was the only plan that would; pooh-poohed rival routes, and expressed a confident conviction that after the canal should be opened it would only be a matter of time how soon America would be the mistress of the seas. So far as we can see, he has in the course of his enlightenment of the American people, descended into none of the details which the Paris Conference left everybody of any seriousness whatever anxious for. Perhaps in the eminently appropriate interchange of so much courtesy the amenities of the several occasions have prevented M. de Lesseps from answering, and indeed his hosts from enquiring, too curiously. The editor of the *Commercial Bulletin* has, therefore, offered him the use of his columns to answer certain questions about the contemplated cost of the canal—questions which may properly take precedence of the vitality and applicability of the Monroe doctrine.

The Rives mandamus decision of the Supreme Court is important, though not unexpected. The case, it will be remembered, was that of two negroes indicted in the State of Virginia for murder. Judge Rives removed all the proceedings into the United States District Court under the section of the Revised Statutes providing for such removals in case of the denial of civil rights (R. S. U. S. §641). He based his action on the ground that the jury which convicted the prisoners was composed of whites, and that it ought to have been a mixed jury. The Supreme Court decide, *first*, that the object of the Civil Rights Act (R. S. U. S. §§ 1977 and 1978) and the Fourteenth Amendment was to place the two races on precisely the same footing; *second*, that the Fourteenth Amendment is directed against State action; *third*, that, as a State may act either by its legislature, its executive, or its judiciary, the prohibitions of the amendment extend to all acts of the State denying equal protection of the laws, whether it be by one of these agencies or another. *Fourth*, Congress, however, has not carried its authority in this matter as far as it is authorized to do by the Fourteenth Amendment, for the removal act referred to above only contemplates a removal *before a trial or final hearing*. It is obvious from this that Congress in passing it never intended to provide against judicial infractions or denials of civil rights, although it might have done so had it pleased. *Fifth*, The sort of denial which the removal act was intended to provide against, therefore, must have been legislative. But, *sixth*, the constitution and laws of Virginia do not exclude negroes from service on juries, and consequently a case

for removal was not presented by the facts. *Seventh*, the demand for a mixed jury was without foundation. A negro is not entitled to anything more than a jury from which there shall be no exclusion on account of race or color. In another case (*Strauder vs. the State of West Virginia*), in which an act of the West Virginia legislature excluded negroes from juries, the Court decided, following the same line of reasoning, that the act was unconstitutional. Judges Clifford and Field dissented.

A kindred opinion disposes of the case of Judge Coles, indicted in the United States Court for the Western District of Virginia, on the charge of excluding negroes from juries on account of their race, color, and previous condition of servitude, and in violation of the act of March 4, 1875, providing for punishment of officers guilty of this offence. The Supreme Court holds the act constitutional; that the Fourteenth Amendment means that no agent of the State, through whom its powers are exercised, shall deny the equal protection of the laws; and that the act of any agent who does so is the act of the State itself. Otherwise the constitutional prohibition has no meaning. Legislation to carry it into execution must act not upon the abstract thing known as the State, but upon *persons*, and the statute of March 4, 1875, is legislation of this kind. The act of Judge Coles in selecting a jury was a ministerial, not a judicial act, and, although he derived his authority from the State, he was bound to obey the Federal Constitution. Judges Field and Clifford again dissented in this case, mainly on the ground that the act of 1875 was unconstitutional, and that the view of its meaning taken by the majority of the Court involved a complete subversion of the admitted rights of States as a co-ordinate part of the Government.

The case of the State of Tennessee *vs. Davis* sets at rest all doubts as to the jurisdiction of the United States Courts over indictments of revenue officers for acts done in discharge of their duty. Davis was a revenue officer, and on being indicted in a Tennessee Court for the murder of Haynes, a citizen of Tennessee, filed a petition for the removal of the case from the State to the Federal court. The Supreme Court holds that the defendant had a right to this removal, on the ground that the case involved United States law. Dissenting opinions were read in this case also by Judges Clifford and Field. The gravity of the conclusions reached by the Court with regard to the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment will be seen at a glance. We may recur to this matter on a future occasion.

Mr. Edmunds has furnished during the week a salutary example of a legislator who does not leave his post to manipulate his State Convention, and who steadily applies himself to the duty of his office. He did well to oppose a special act for removing disabilities growing out of the rebellion, whether he did well or ill afterwards to oppose the general repeal of these disabilities, so far at least as they related to the admission of Confederate soldiers into the Federal army. He performed a great public service when he exposed, with equal keenness, learning, and wit, the raid upon the Treasury contemplated by the Five Per Cent. Bill (as it was called for short), which provided for paying five per cent. of the value of military bounty lands located in some eighteen of the newer States, when by statute they were entitled only to so much of the net proceeds of the public lands sold in their respective limit. Mr. Edmunds showed that this movement was begun by Iowa as early as 1858, and he succeeded in having the bill postponed till the next session. On Monday Senator Hoar renewed the attempt to confuse the public mind on the subject of the Geneva Award, asserting that a payment made on an understanding which expressly excluded indirect damages was general and not specific in its application, and might be pocketed as England's penalty for acts which would have justified war with her "long before the *Shenandoah* left Melbourne." Senator Randolph began the debate on the bill to reinstate Gen. Fitz-John Porter, and had an audience remarkable for the number of high Confederate and Federal officers, who were partly there as judges and partly as curious spectators. Perhaps no one had a deeper interest in the result than General Garfield, a member of

the original court-martial. Gen. Logan replied on Tuesday. On the same day the House adopted its new rules.

The passage of the Riddleberger bill by the Virginia Legislature on Monday need occasion no particular alarm to the creditors of the State, we are inclined to think. It is, of course, a most inexcusable and dishonorable measure, providing as it does for the reduction of the principal of the State debt from \$33,000,000 to \$20,000,000 by eliminating the capitalized war and reconstruction interest; fixing the rate of interest at 3 per cent.; making the coupons non-receivable for taxes, but the bonds taxable; and instructing county treasurers not to receive coupons of the present consols and ten-forties for taxes. It is difficult to understand why any man or party of men who could bring themselves to go so far as this should go no farther. The truth is, we suspect, that the "Readjusters" bark far beyond their biting capacity, and that no one knows this better than themselves. Under the lead of a popular but unscrupulous demagogue they made a dash for the control of the State government, one of the chief railway lines of the State, and the United States Senatorship; finding "readjustment" a popular means to those ends they used it with great success. Now that they have, by breaking the power of the Conservatives, gained what they wanted, it is hardly to be supposed that a party of non-taxpayers will concern itself very earnestly about fulfilling election promises made to the negroes. The Governor is sure to veto the Riddleberger bill, and it cannot be passed over his veto. Before a new Legislature can be elected the question will probably be settled by the Court of Appeals. The fact that most of the Republicans voted with the repudiators, however, is a really discouraging thing. It contradicts the inference drawn by every one at the time of the election, that the color-line was broken: and they appear to have got nothing of any account in exchange for their adherence to what is probably as disreputable an organization as now exists in this country.

The state of things in San Francisco during the past week has been tolerably humiliating for the more respectable portion of the population. A few thousands of the "unemployed" (there is plenty of work offered them a few miles away) have taken to holding meetings in "the Sand Lots," where they are addressed by Kearney, to walking in procession through the streets, and to making calls on persons employing Chinamen, and requesting them to discharge them, and threatening them with death. What has started the agitation afresh is a resolution of the Board of Health declaring the Chinese quarter, or Chinatown, as it is called, a nuisance, which we presume it is from a sanitary point of view. The Kearneyites interpret this as a legal direction, not only to purify the Chinese dwellings, but to drive out the inhabitants, and the demonstration is intended to force the authorities into action. Subscriptions have been collected for the erection of a permanent gallows in one of the Sand Lots; and Kearney, who pretends of late to fear assassination, has announced that he will leave a list of persons to be "guillotined" after his decease as a peace-offering to his manes. The situation is complicated by the fact that Killoch, the mayor, and the sheriff sympathize with the Kearneyites, and in a measure encourage them by their speeches. The mob is still further irritated by the refusal of the corporations to obey the law recently passed, which forbids them to employ Chinese labor. They have carried the question of its constitutionality before the United States Circuit Court, and pending its decision keep the Chinamen; but Kearney says he will not recognize any decision but that of "the people." The police and the militia appear to be ready and even anxious to try conclusions with him and his followers, and the business people seem of late to wish matters to come to a crisis, but he is either very cunning or very timid, for he seems to be the most peaceable demagogue that ever mounted a stump; and his followers, while threatening slaughter on a vast scale, both in speeches and resolutions, refrain from hurting anybody.

In the meantime there appears to be little doubt that the new constitution is working disastrously for the business of the

state. Its provisions are of course evaded in all sorts of ways, but business carried on in evasion of the law is not apt to be flourishing or enterprising. There are many signs of the withdrawal of capital from the State, such as the decline in the bank deposits, the diminished value of real estate, a migration of capitalists to this city, and the establishment of a mining bank and exchange here. San Francisco cannot but become much less attractive as a place of abode under the operations of the mob, even if they do not commit overt acts of violence. The liability to be "waited on" by Kearneyite deputations and requested to change his servants, and afterwards to hear the propriety of putting him to death discussed by a large crowd outside his own door, does not make any man cheerful in his business or in his domestic life. There is, however, something very comic in the use of the bloodthirsty talk of the French Reds by the very timid and harmless Reds of our cities. At a Communist meeting in this city the other day one of the leaders was asked what should be done to a woman (Queen Victoria) who drew £470,000 for "her household expenses," while the people were dying of hunger. The answer was prompt: She should be tried in front of her palace by a jury of Irish paupers and decapitated on the spot. The retention of the jury trial in the proceeding when conviction was already determined on is characteristic and droll. A Frenchman would have insisted on execution by simple "decree."

General Boynton's application for a court-martial to try General Sherman for libel has been very properly refused by the War Department, but not before it had been referred to General Sherman, who put on it a somewhat scurrilous endorsement, repeating his charge of professional slander against General Boynton. General Sherman also announces that he is ready to meet General Boynton in the civil courts of the District, and has retained Senator Carpenter's services for the occasion. The trial would be an interesting one, though probably enormously expensive. But we do not see how the defendant could ever prove that the plaintiff would libel his mother for the sum of one thousand dollars, and feel sure that the General of the Army engaged in such an attempt would not be a very edifying spectacle.

The rate for discounts in London advanced during the week to about 3 per cent., and it was thought that the Bank of England would put its discount rate above that figure. Accordingly the rate for short-date bills on London advanced here, but as the Bank of England rate was unchanged the market here for sterling was not so strong at the close. The New York money market was more active, and the rate for demand loans advanced to full 6 per cent. Notwithstanding the purchase of \$14,600,000 U. S. bonds for the sinking fund during February, and payments of several millions for pensions, the loan market was kept no more than steady, so large were the payments into the Treasury for duties on imports and for internal taxes, and so heavy were the shipments of currency to New England and the West on account of the enlarged volume of business. The Treasury took in during February for duties on imports and internal taxes about \$28,000,000, against \$19,500,000 in February, 1879; the principal gain—about \$6,000,000—was in the form of duties on imports, the foreign goods imported in February having been valued at \$33,800,000, against \$25,400,000 in the same month last year. The public-debt statement shows a decrease during February of \$5,672,000, which brings the reduction for the current fiscal year up to about \$32,500,000. It is notable that of the coin-balance held by the Treasury the gold is steadily falling, while the silver is increasing. The Treasury now has about \$42,000,000 of silver. The Stock Exchange markets were what the brokers call "feverish" during the week, and there is considerable apprehension respecting the course of the money market during this month, as so much depends upon it, while it in turn is very much in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury. If he buys a large amount of bonds the rate for loans may not rise above 6 per cent.; if not, then a

stringent loan-market may be expected. The price of silver in London fell to 51½d. per ounce; and the bullion value here of the "buzzard dollar" fell to 87 cents—\$0.87001.

No new light, at least none that has been made public, has been thrown on the origin of the explosion in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. The extradition of a man named Hartmann, supposed to have been connected with it and now in Paris, has been asked for from the French Government, but it is so violently opposed by the Radicals—on the ground that his offence, if ever committed, was political—that it will probably not be persisted in. The revelations about the population of the Palace are, however, interesting as showing how very Oriental the habits of the Russian monarchy still continue to be. It appears that about five thousand persons live in the Winter Palace, the occupation of a very large proportion of these being unknown. In fact, owing to its exemption from police visitation or surveillance, it seems to have become, to a certain extent, a sort of asylum for persons for whom the world outside had become too hot, and who had friends in the Imperial domestic service. General Melikoff has been appointed supreme governor of St. Petersburg, with military powers over everybody, and he has thoroughly purged the palace service. There has been some expectation that the Czar would make concessions to the discontented on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession, in the shape of some approach to representative government, but this has not been realized.

In France the condition of the political world is unusually dull. The Jules Ferry Educational Bill is before the Senate, and the famous Seventh Section, which forbids the religious orders to keep school without certificated teachers, is under debate, but it does not seem exciting. The question of legal divorce, of which it is now proposed to give France its first experience—all divorces under the Code being simply separations—is attracting more attention than anything else. This attention is stimulated by a very long pastoral from the Pope against civil marriages and in defence of the sacramental view, and by a new play of Sardou's which attempts to show up the freethinkers and bring civil marriage into disrepute by producing it on the stage with illustrations of its evil consequences. The clergy have begun to lecture on it, too. Father Hyacinthe, who has made a sort of specialty of marriage, has been discoursing on it from the Protestant standpoint before large audiences, but his offering himself as an illustration of the possibility of prolonged chastity seems to have called forth interruptions on the part of the irreverent and profane among his audience.

In England since the Liverpool and Southwark elections there have been many signs that the Tories, ascribing these victories to the effect of supposed Liberal dalliance with the Home-Rulers, were preparing to dissolve Parliament and go to the country with the cry that their opponents were ready to join the Irish in breaking up the Empire. This plan, if ever entertained, has, however, been frustrated by the prompt support given by the Liberals in the House of Commons to the new rules for putting down obstruction, and by the very damaging revelations made by Mr. A. M. Sullivan, the Home-Rule member from Dundalk, as to Tory participation or complicity in the Home-Rule movement by prominent men before they got into office in 1874. There appears to be no doubt at all that they did go much further in the way of dalliance than the Liberals have ever done in order to get into power. In fact, the Home-Rulers appear to be playing somewhat the same part in British politics that the Greenbackers have been playing in politics here. Each party would, owing to their numbers in English boroughs, like to catch their votes if they could do so without burning their fingers. The new rules, which have been adopted by overwhelming majorities, will reduce the Home-Rule element to nothingness in the House of Commons. Mr. Parnell, in particular, will find his occupation gone when he gets home, for if the Speaker censures him he will be reduced to silence for the rest of the day, or be dragged out by the sergeant-at-arms.

MR. BAYARD'S IMPEDIMENT.

IT would be idle to pretend that the publication of Senator Bayard's so-called "secession" speech in 1861 has not considerably affected his availability as a Presidential candidate. The only argument for the nomination of Mr. Bayard which has seemed to attract any attention from Democratic politicians has been the probability that he would draw off Republican votes enough to carry one or two doubtful Northern States. All the other reasons for nominating him—that he is a man of high character and strong sense, a thorough master of current political questions, and besides all this capable of just that independence of thought and action which is the most marked want of the politicians of the day—have attracted but little attention, possibly because in "political circles" these are regarded rather as objections than as recommendations—qualities which, however valuable they may be in other departments of human activity, make a man in politics dangerous and untrustworthy. It was only when the Democratic leaders discovered that there was a large body of Republican voters who desired to have an opportunity of voting for such a candidate, that they began to consider seriously whether this unexpected kind of availability did not offset the objections to such an idealist programme as the nomination of a man of pronounced convictions from a small State like Delaware seemed to be. Probably even now few Democrats understand why the Independent Republicans want such a man, and in their secret hearts suspect that the desire of "reform" among them is mainly the result of that hypocritical affectation of virtue which every true Democrat believes to be at the bottom of Republican reform movements. Of the fact, however, that large numbers of Republicans demand such qualities as Mr. Bayard possesses there is no room for doubt, and in the eyes of Democratic politicians this consequently constitutes pretty much his entire availability. But if he has a bad "war record" of course this availability is much weakened, and as an "opening gun" in his campaign his Dover speech is not the sort of oration that is likely to get him Republican votes. If it had been made before the outbreak of the war it would have been of less consequence. But it was actually made in June, 1861, and it is clear to the most careless reader of it that at that time Mr. Bayard's sympathies were enlisted on the side of the South, that he regarded the war as brought on by Lincoln and his Cabinet, and the Union forces as an invading army, and that, while disapproving of secession, he thought a peaceable separation preferable to all the evils which he clearly foresaw a war would entail. Now, although it would be extremely irrational to argue that these opinions held by a young Southerner nineteen years ago showed any moral obliquity, there is no denying that his words have a tendency to recall memories of the past which are very bitter, and to breed a feeling of distrust in the minds of people who on every other topic are perfectly in sympathy with him. It is quite true that in the next four years there is not the remotest possibility that any of the questions touched upon in Mr. Bayard's speech will come up in such a way as to require even an expression of opinion from a President; but votes are determined to a very large extent by sentimental considerations, and no doubt if the question were put to the average Republican voter—as it would be put during a campaign between say Grant and Bayard—"Will you vote for the hero of Appomattox or for a Southern sympathizer?" large numbers even of those who did not like him would find little difficulty in voting for Grant.

That the removal of Mr. Bayard from the list of candidates to whom Independents could turn as a refuge from Grantism would be a great misfortune we freely admit; but, on the other hand, the danger of it is perhaps more than counterbalanced by the rapid decline of the Grant movement. The means by which his friends have sought to push his nomination in Pennsylvania and New York have proved a distinct failure. In fact, the kind of candidate he was represented to be at the outset could not but be damaged by such operations as those at Harrisburg and Utica. The spontaneity of the movement and its thoroughly popular character were its earliest and best recommendation, but this has been ruined by the pains

taken to pack the two State Conventions which were first to put him formally in the field. The refusal of the Illinois Republicans to play their part in the programme by calling their Convention now, and their postponement of it until May, have, in fact, disarranged the whole scheme, and it is not oversanguine to look for its abandonment before June.

In addition to this, the arguments of its promoters would ruin any scheme. In the first place, there was always an absurdity in proposing the re-election of General Grant as a remedy for the presence of a Democratic majority in Congress, that majority having been created during his Administration and as a consequence of his Administration. This has always made his candidacy, in the character of "a Strong Man" of whom the Democrats were afraid, something which could not be discussed in private conversation, or discussed in any place in which its advocates could be replied to on the spot. It was a good theme for set speeches and newspaper and review articles, but not for actual debate. No one has the face as yet to maintain in oral discussion that the homœopathic rule, *similia similibus*, applies to political problems, and that the man who has worked a given piece of mischief is just the man to remedy it and prevent its recurrence. Nonsense of this sort can only be produced by a speaker or writer who is secured against interruption and has unlimited command of rhetoric, and it may be affirmed safely that a candidate who cannot be readily turned over in private talk is a weak candidate, and is likely to grow weaker every day he remains in the field. Having begun with this absurdity, it was quite natural that his supporters should venture on others—such as the assertion that General Grant's two years' pleasure trip in Europe had been a means of valuable political education, and would enable him to avoid the errors of his past administration. He has himself disposed of this very effectually in the authorized report of his conversations which we noticed two weeks ago. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the *New York Times*, which has made the great mistake of taking him up at the eleventh hour, from declaring on Sunday last that "the fears entertained by some Republicans about the probable character of General Grant's administration were entirely misplaced." The reason, however, why some people fear that General Grant would not administer well is that they have seen him administer badly. The materials for inferring the kind of President he would be are, in fact, more abundant in his case than in the case of any previous candidate for the Presidency, and telling people that they must not mind them sounds like a quotation from the "Grande Duchesse."

A similar air of simplicity surrounds the argument that there is no use in opposing his nomination, because "if the people want him they will have him." It cannot be ascertained until the election whether the people want him or not. In fact, the election will be held to get an answer to this question. In the meantime the articles and speeches of the supporters of "the boom" have the weight due to the opinions of individual men of various degrees of honesty and perspicacity—no more and no less. They are at present trying to get the people to "want him," which is a perfectly legitimate enterprise; but the labors of those who are trying to persuade the people *not* to want him are also legitimate, and thus far seem much more fruitful than those of their opponents. Any one who recommends a democracy to choose a particular man for its chief officer in time of profound peace as a measure of safety, and because the machinery of the government will not work well without him, is fatally weighted in his argument. The more he talks and the more vehement he grows the worse off the orator is apt to be, because he cannot long conceal his belief that his audience are unfit to govern themselves. This is sure to leak out as he warms to his subject. The consequence is, in the present case, that the more the friends of a third term have declaimed about its harmlessness the more opposed to the idea people have grown; nay, they have now got to the point of saying that, even if a third term be harmless, they object to the bestowal of it on the particular person for whose benefit it is proposed. In fact, the objections to a third term have already begun

to be lost sight of in the objections to a third term for General Grant. This contingency the gentlemen who have declaimed on the subject in the *North American Review* do not seem to have foreseen. All that they say in opposition to the notion that a third term is *per se* objectionable in a government like ours may be true, and yet that would never prevent the decision in any particular case turning eventually on the merits of the particular claimant of the honor. A third term, like various articles of food and drink, may be good for some people and not for others. A third term for a Lincoln may be a national blessing; a third term for a soldier in a time of profound peace as a "saviour of society," with a large band of scheming adventurers at his back, is not desirable; and yet the third term might be a good thing for a nation to have in store.

REFORM ORGANIZATIONS.

WE shall offer no excuse for reprinting the documents given below. The first is a circular emanating from the Independent Republican Committee of this city, which was sent to every member of the recent convention at Utica. The last is the announcement of a similar organization in Philadelphia, whose promoters are among the ablest and weightiest of her reflecting citizens. Both furnish rallying-points in their respective States for all those who are resolute in opposing the prostitution of the party machinery in the interest of Grantism, and who desire both before the nomination at Chicago and after it to save the country from the disgrace of political reaction. The enemies of reform palliate every triumph of the Machine by reproaching the helpless minority with failure to organize—meaning for the control of the primaries, etc., and "with-in the party." That this failure honorably precludes all other concerted action is a doctrine which no longer imposes on thinking men, as was shown at the last election in this State. We believe it to be of the highest importance that the independent voters of every section should make their numbers and intentions manifest before the party conventions meet in June.

"INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE, }
"Box 1827, NEW YORK CITY. }

"You are herewith furnished with the Report of the work of this Committee during the last campaign. We call your attention to the fact that 19,686 Republicans voted who did not vote for Mr. Cornell, and to the fact also that these votes are essential to Republican success in the Presidential campaign. The immediate object of that campaign is to elect the Republican candidate. That candidate should, therefore, be chosen who may most certainly be elected. There are two prominent aspirants for the candidacy whom many Republicans deem unfit, and whose election would be doubtful. Their nomination is therefore inexpedient. Those candidates are Gen. Grant and James G. Blaine.

"Many Republicans recognize in Gen. Grant one of the foremost men of our time. They honor him, but they do not want him for President. His renomination would be a departure from wise precedents, and a confession of civil weakness, which ought not to be made. The cry for him as a Strong Man is unrepugnant. It is the expression of an emasculated desire to be governed, unworthy of communities not yet wearied of self-government. His candidacy would be further weakened by his past administrations. Those administrations are indelibly associated with scandals which came home to thousands of Republicans with the sting of a personal disgrace. They have not forgotten those scandals. They remember that Gen. Grant seemed unable to distinguish between good men and bad men. They recall that under his administrations six Northern and eight Southern States were lost to the Republican party, and that its majority in the House of Representatives was extinguished. They believe that a popular demand for him does not exist, and that a step toward his nomination is a step toward defeat.

"Many Republicans recognize in Mr. Blaine the type of the 'statesmen' found upon the surface after the war, who have great reputations, but have established no claim to the respect of this generation. Their triumphs are registered in the caucus, not upon the statute-books. They have neither advocated nor been identified with any great measure. Their cleverness and great vehemence is devoted wholly to the acquisition and retention of office, and, after years of legislative employment, they can point to no permanent or conspicuous service which they have ren-

dered to the public. Independent Republicans believe that no such man should be nominated. That feeling in Mr. Blaine's case, coupled with the suspicion that his official career is tainted with dishonesty, would cost the party thousands of votes should he be chosen as its candidate.

"Independent Republicans desire the election of a Republican President; they believe the party contains many fit men who can be elected; and that while this is the case, no man should be nominated who cannot poll the full Republican vote."

"NATIONAL REPUBLICAN LEAGUE,

"ROOMS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 913 WALNUT STREET,

"PHILADELPHIA, February 25, 1880."

"The objects of this association may be briefly stated:

"We intend to use every effort in our power to defeat the third-term project.

"We propose to labor for the overthrow of the ignoble tyranny in this State whereby a few politicians constitute themselves dictators of our platforms and of our candidates, demand obedience to their edicts, and treat with undisguised contempt the will of the people and the declared principles of the party.

"We will seek to secure the nomination for the Presidency of some statesman of capacity, integrity, and courage, who will labor earnestly for the improvement of our public life, and who will secure the support not only of zealous Republicans, but also of thoughtful and independent voters.

"Our demands are moderate: no third term, a party without a master, and a candidate without a stain.

"In pursuing these aims we are wholly in the spirit of the honored founders of the party, and are endeavoring to rescue it from degradation and impending disaster. We intend, therefore, to maintain and enlarge our organization, and to co-operate cordially with associations or individuals desiring like objects.

"Wherever the party organization can be utilized to advance these ends it ought to be promptly and vigorously used. Wherever the organization is improperly or despotically controlled, self-respecting Republicans ought to join in frankly expressing their opinions. If at any place a sufficient number of such men cannot be found to act together, we will be glad to accept as non-resident members of our association any persons wishing to join us."

THE SOCIALISTIC LEGISLATION IN GERMANY.

THE proposal which Prussia has handed in to the Federal Council, that the law against the Socialist-Democrats be retained in force for five years more—that is, till March, 1886, has naturally again turned public attention in Germany to Socialism. The reasons assigned for this proposal are that the agitation has been suppressed only on the surface; to which it is very naturally replied that measures like the Socialist law never can do more than suppress the mere symptoms of discontent, and that eight years of police tyranny will not reach the root of Social-Democracy more than the three already past have done. In the present state of parties, however, the prolongation will certainly be granted, though perhaps not for the whole of the five years asked for. But with the meeting of the Reichstag much has also been heard of the other form of Socialism which has direct practical importance for our time, of that professorial Socialism which has made so much noise in the world in the last few years. Time and again we hear the assertion made that Germany is now tending toward the Socialist ideal, and the Liberal papers are fond of hinting—they do not quite dare to say it outright—that Bismarck himself is the greatest living Socialist. In the debates in the Austrian Parliament last December one of the arguments adduced against the military law then passed was the tendency of the military system to state Socialism, Germany being pointed at as a warning example. Probably the same argument will be used—we may add, used with as little effect as in Austria—in the German Reichstag, if, indeed, arguments directed against the military system in general will not seem altogether irrelevant in the present state of Germany. But it is not uninteresting to take a look at the relations between the political state of Germany and the theories of the school of Katheder-Socialists.

The essence of the doctrines of this school, like that of all

Socialism, lies in the endeavor to raise the social condition of the lower classes, to destroy or mitigate as much as possible such inequalities in wealth as are not due to differences of ability or exertion. The means proposed—and it is, perhaps, not unnecessary to insist that they are only means—are twofold. On the one hand, the state is directly to take charge of and conduct industrial undertakings wherever competition results in combination, in monopoly, and in the growth of huge corporations that form a state within the state; where direct assumption is not advisable for technical reasons, state regulation at least is to set in. The end appears more distinctly in the second class of means—in the use of taxation. Taxes are to be levied, not from the merely financial, but from the social-political point of view. The “unearned increase” is of course to be taxed, the progressive income-tax to be introduced, gains like those from stock-exchange speculation to be specially taxed, and so on. After all, this school, which pretends to represent the latest and most original development of political economy, is only Mill carried to the extreme, or the rabid Socialism of Marx very much softened down. Its importance lies in the fact that it attempts to define the extent to which Socialistic ideas can be carried into practice at the present day, and it is worth while to notice how far it is true that these ideas are being realized in the present condition and policy of Germany.

In regard to the kind of means exemplified by the progressive income-tax, recent legislation has been to a certain extent in a line with the proposals sketched above, but only to a certain extent. The *Klassensteuer*, on which the representation in the Prussian Landtag is based, is an income-tax increasing from one-half to two and three-quarters per cent. as the incomes rise. Among the taxes proposed for the present session of the Reichstag is one on stock-exchange transactions. Indirect taxes on articles in general use, in the condemnation of which German Socialists and free-traders for once unite, are not so extensive in Prussia as in England, France, or Austria, though in this respect the tariff legislation of last year has deprived Germany of much of her advantage (if such it be) in this respect. We need only instance grain and petroleum. It is noteworthy, too, that the taxation of inheritances and legacies is by no means carried as far in Prussia as in any of the countries named above. In fact, whatever distinct current against the rich can be observed in the policy of Bismarck, is directed against the commercial rich, and proceeds, if we may be allowed the expression, not from Socialistic but from social motives. It has been called the struggle of immovable against movable capital, of land against money. Its character is clearly indicated by the tax on stock-exchange transactions which, as we have just mentioned, will be laid before the Reichstag at the coming session; another proposed tax of the same kind, also to be laid before the Reichstag, is that on all acknowledgments of payments received. The commercial rich, the manufacturers and traders and bankers, are a bugbear to the Conservatives. Apart from social considerations, whose importance in Germany is not to be lightly estimated, the weight of their influence is usually thrown in favor of the Liberals, and Bismarck and the Conservatives are only too glad to have professorial authority on their side in attacking them. The policy of the Government in this case, as in the Jew question (with which, indeed, it is in many cases closely connected), happens to chime in with the Socialist ideas, but only from political and, with many of the Conservatives, from social motives. It much resembles the policy by which the English Tories led by Bolingbroke sought in Anne's reign to maintain the ascendancy of the “landed interest” and keep down the rising “moneyed interest.” How little their policy is directed by any real regard for the poor man is shown by the detestable law concerning fields and woods recently proposed by the Conservatives in the Landtag and carried with inconsiderable changes. By this law the peasant who gathers wild berries must have a permit from the owner of the land; if he has none, or even fails to carry one with him, he is liable to imprisonment; the proceeding is criminal, not a civil action for trespass, but as a special grace the prosecution is undertaken only at the request of the landowner.

The latter may refuse a permit except where the peasant can prove a right by prescription (thirty years' use in Prussian law); and when a peasant dies his prescriptive right shall in future die with him, and not go over to his children.

If we examine the other part of the programme of the Katheder-Socialists, the part which is summed up in the word “Verstaatlichung,” the result is still more meagre. The Socialist programme would have the state take charge of all branches of transportation, including post, telegraph, railroads, even horse-cars; of all branches of insurance, life, property, income; the supply of municipal needs like water and gas, warehouses, markets; of banks in their regular routine business. It can hardly be said that this programme is being carried out in Germany to a much greater degree than in other countries. The recent purchase of railroads by Prussia, which will lead in a short time to the system of exclusive state-ownership in Prussia and even in all Germany, has often been pointed out as a movement towards state Socialism. Perhaps it is so, but such a movement is hardly peculiar to Germany. The railroad problem seems not only in Germany, but all over the world, to be veering toward the solution of state interference to a greater or less degree. Considering the bureaucratic tendency of the German mind, the policy of state-ownership seems there almost a matter of course, when in a country as essentially non-bureaucratic as the United States commissions for the supervision (to however limited an extent) of the railroads are organized, as is the case in Massachusetts and probably soon will be the case in New York. It seems a distortion of the facts to ascribe to the recent purchase of the railroads by Prussia any peculiar Socialist bearing; the motives for that purchase, as is well known, were mainly political and, to no small degree, of a military character. Still, it is impossible to deny the existence in professorial and official circles in Germany of a hostility to the results of what is called “Smithianism”—a use of the name of Adam Smith that would cause that worthy to turn in his grave could he hear it. One sign of this hostility is seen in the disfavor to the joint-stock-company principle. Among the many laws and proposals which are talked of for the present session of the Reichstag one of the most important and significant is that for a reform of the laws relating to stock companies. Another sign of this feeling is to be found in the favor to a return to usury laws shown by jurists and economists. In truth the position of Germany in modern industrial development is peculiar. Probably no country has in the last generation made such a comparatively prodigious advance in wealth and industry as Germany. This development occurred in the midst of a population in the main of a decidedly provincial character, accustomed to simple routine lives, not possessed of the independence of judgment, the versatility of resource, the energy tempered with caution, in fact, of the ability to look out for themselves, which are called for in the modern struggle for life. Consequently it is in Germany that the modern system of capitalistic industry has shown its worst side. In the hot-house atmosphere produced by the five milliards the extreme of gambling speculation was seen before, the extreme of relapse and ruin after, the crash of 1873. To these circumstances the more or less complete leaning to Socialist ideas now prevalent, especially in professorial circles, is probably to be in very great degree ascribed.

But not very much of all this is to be distinctly noticed in the policy of Prince Bismarck; for when we speak of the policy of the Prussian or German Government we mean, of course, that of the Chancellor. Prince Bismarck is and has always been an essentially political leader and thinker. He is in a way narrow-minded. He has never shown any great knowledge or comprehension of economic science, nor has his practical activity in economic fields brought him much glory. He probably neither understands nor cares for the logic by which the professorial Socialists try to prove the necessity of extending the sphere of action of the state. His utterances on economic and financial subjects have frequently been marked by ignorance or fallacy—as, for instance, in regard to the method of applying the income-tax to the incomes of state employees. The disorganization of trade and industry caused by

his management of the disbursement of the five milliards will not soon be forgotten in or out of Germany. The introduction of the protective tariff last year was to him far more a political and financial measure than an economic one. Still less can it be said that he has ever given evidence of any humanitarian sentiment for the lower classes, any great insight into the social problem, which is, after all, the great problem of the day. The present law against the Social-Democrats proves this abundantly. In fact, if it were not, on the one hand, for the peculiar internal condition of the German Empire, with the nationality question still far from being a thing of the past; and, on the other hand, for the external relations of Germany and the disturbed and threatening conditions of European politics, Prince Bismarck would probably by this time have outlived his greatness and usefulness. He is still indispensable to maintain the results of his own achievements. That he is so is an ominous sign for Germany and for Europe, for he is and remains the man of "blood and iron."

MASQUERADING IN NEW YORK.

THE annual *Arion* and *Liederkrantz* masquerades constitute the chief and most conspicuous tribute paid by the inhabitants of the principal city of the United States to revelry pure and simple. There are numerous other public balls during the winter, but none of them approach in importance the two we have named, and these are now always so successful that each year adds to the means of provision for future entertainments, so that we may probably look forward to a long succession of them, steadily increasing in elaborateness. Of the two the *Liederkrantz* has the reputation of being the more "select," and in the sense which that much-abused word has in New York this is probably true. The tickets for the *Liederkrantz* cost two or three times as much as tickets for the *Arion*, and in a society in which there is absolutely no test of respectability but wealth, the presumption is that a ball to which it costs ten or fifteen dollars to gain admittance will be more marked by all those desirable qualities of breeding, taste, and manner included in the idea of respectability, than a ball where the paltry sum of five dollars opens the doors. But for those who, like ourselves, enjoy public spectacles for their distinct character, rather than for the opportunity they may afford of meeting persons whom we already meet only too often elsewhere, the *Arion* is the better ball of the two. It comes nearer to having a character of its own than any other entertainment of the kind in the United States. If there is an amusement in the world for which the Anglo-Saxon race has no sort of taste or aptitude it is masquerading; and if there is any branch of that great race which has less taste and aptitude for it than another, it is beyond doubt our own. Hence it is by no means accidental that the pastime in the United States should have fallen wholly into the hands of foreigners. In New Orleans, where the population is half French, they have annual French or Creole masquerading. In New York, where the population is one-third German, the duty falls upon the Germans. At the *Arion* ball you do undoubtedly see out of the twenty thousand persons who go a few hundred English-speaking pleasure-seekers. But they are a drop in the bucket. The ball is a German ball. As a German ball it is a great success. It brings together an enormous and heterogeneous crowd—very much such a crowd as may be seen on the piazzas of the Coney Island hotels on a summer afternoon, excepting the dominoes and costumes. It is, moreover, a thoroughly well-behaved crowd, and it has a curious effect to see during the early part of the evening a large number of children walking about outside the space reserved for the masquerade proper with their contented-looking fathers and mothers—very much as they may be seen at a *matinée* performance of a pantomime.

There is nothing more German about it than the conscientious thoroughness with which the work of preparation for it is carried out. The great feature of the night is the opening of the ball by a sort of carnival procession (it is not the less a mark of its German origin, by the way, that this New York substitute for a carnival should take place in Lent), made up of a series of *tableaux vivants* illustrating the history of the country, the progress of science and art, or anything else that occurs to the managers. A year or two since there was a praiseworthy attempt by somebody who thought that there was "money in it" to have an open-air carnival procession through the streets of New York, and any one who remembers the result will gain a very good idea of the *Arion* procession

round the interior of the Madison Square Garden, bearing in mind the cramped character of the roadway in the Garden, and the fact that the horses, instead of caracoling through the streets, have to be carefully guided over a planked floor. Wherever there are two or three Germans gathered together there is sure to be some humor. No critic, we believe, has ever suspected German humor of being wit, and we must be permitted to say that to attempt to introduce humor into *tableaux vivants* is a risky business. With an ordinary joke the jester has the advantage of surprise; but it cannot be too constantly enforced upon the minds of those who undertake to provide jests for the public that novelty is an essential condition of their success. The managers of the *Arion* ball seem to labor under the erroneous impression that the true secret of humor is repetition, and that familiarity with even a poor joke will guarantee it against failure. To quarrel with the Germans for holding this view as an abstract proposition would, of course, be absurd; it is only when it is carried into practice that resentment becomes justifiable. It must be observed, however, that as the humor provided at the *Arion* ball is by Germans, so also it is for Germans, and that to the German appreciation of a German joke a certain continuity and permanence of impression may be necessary. These reflections were suggested to us by the humorous Wine-cooler, with the continuous popping of corks from titanic, unstable champagne bottles, and the street-sweeping machine directed by Captain Williams in the procession. The idea that a new broom sweeps clean expresses a truth which does not admit of dispute, and it is consequently one that hardly requires spectacular proof.

The procession goes twice round the Garden and disappears. It is almost pathetic to think that this laboriously-prepared exhibition, gazed at once a year for twenty minutes by an apathetic crowd, is all that has survived to us sombre and unpleasure-loving denizens of a new continent of the gaiety and revelry and reckless riot that our pagan progenitors once mingled with religion, and part of which, preserved in the festivities of the carnival, have in Europe, even after twenty centuries, remained as a connecting link between the joyous youth and the saddened age of the world. The carnival is said of late years to have fallen in a decadence; but a carnival within the limits of a circus-ring, for which the enterprising management has to "hire a hall," is a sort of social survival or transplantation which has something melancholy about its meagreness. Pleasure is such a neglected branch of human activity in America! This carnival, provided at so much a head by an enterprising foreign society in an old railroad-depot, reminds one so strongly how all the forces of society in the United States seem to contend against gaiety or the successful pursuit of enjoyment. Masked balls will, we fancy, always remain an exotic in American life. Pleasure is an art like any other. There is no more reason to expect a people who have been monotonously devoted to money-getting for generations, and who have been strongly impregnated with religious notions which involve the idea that enjoyment cannot be innocent, suddenly to become gifted with the art of amusing themselves, than there is to expect a sudden outbreak of loquacity in a deaf and dumb asylum. Of all the forms of human enjoyment there is probably none that requires more natural gaiety and gives scope for more intellectual expertness than a masked ball. It is a challenge to a delicate encounter of wits, and it is nothing at all unless this challenge is taken up. Successful masquerading is only possible in a highly-cultivated society, in which women are trained to use their wits in conversation, and have a great fund of audacity and intellectual resource. None of these conditions exist in any modern Anglo-Saxon society, least of all in the United States. Conversational wit among English and American people is an extreme rarity—such a rarity that any one who has a trace of talent for it almost always is put down as "very foreign," and the art of talking is, as a branch of education, almost wholly neglected here, as we believe it is more and more getting to be in England. In American homes there is, as a rule, very little general conversation, and hosts of young girls make their debut in society without ever having heard anything more like it than remarks about the weather or discussions between their brothers as to the price of stocks. General conversation even at dinners is almost never attempted, and, indeed, the modern custom of making a dinner-party as large as possible renders everything but *tête-à-tête* out of the question. In fact, all that society generally exacts is a certain amount of commonplace talk, and no one who has been much about it can fail to have observed that in certain quarters there has been of late years an effort to do away with much of this as a needless formality, interfering, particularly at dinner, with other duties. It is obvious that masquerading is no sort of amusement for such a society as this. The interest of carrying on a conversation with a

person whose face you cannot see consists, in the first place, of a pleasure derived from conversation for its own sake; and if this does not exist there is, of course, far less amusement to be got from talking to a person in a mask than from talking to a person without one.

LESSONS FROM THE PRUSSIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

II.

IF Prussia pays little respect to the uneducated and unsteady will of "the people" in the choice of executive officials, it is almost as free from the caprice of ministerial or royal favor. This is a most important distinction. In the United States the President, or, as in practice it commonly results, a Senator or a Representative, can select some friend of approved party or personal fidelity and make him collector of a great port, with the control of its revenues and thereby a vast influence on its trade and prosperity. But such a discretion would amaze a king of Prussia. The King of Prussia has his favorites and likes to reward them; yet it will be admitted that that is not a very serious partiality which cannot relieve even the president of a province from the obligation of eight years' study at a gymnasium, three or four years at a university, a year or two of unpaid service at the bottom of the official ladder, and a score of years climbing to reach the top.

At this point the objection will perhaps be made—in fact we have heard it from at least one ingenuous critic—that it is impossible in practice to throw the service open to a whole people. What is to prevent overcrowding? they will enquire. To all such objectors one may reply that they probably have in view the two thousand applications lately filed at Washington for the single, or eventually the first, vacant consulate, or the general system of office-seeking in the United States; but failed to extend the comparison to the qualifications for office respectively exacted in the two countries. How many of those two thousand applicants could satisfy the conditions required for the German consular service? If the appointee to a vacant consulate were required to show a diploma from Harvard or Yale, to know something of law in a technical sense, to pass a year or more as an attaché learning his duties but drawing no pay, and then to climb the intermediate steps of consular clerk, vice-consul, etc., would there not be a dearth rather than a glut in the market? Would not the Department of State have to invite reluctant candidates, instead of rejecting a mass of superfluous applications? It seems to us that this is perfectly clear. But one may reply that the last extreme is worse than the first; that from an abundance of material the Government can select what it needs, while an insufficient supply may gravely impair the interests of the state. This is no less clear, and in fact the Prussian conditions are only intended to secure quality and capacity. The just balance between demand and supply is obtained in the long run with great accuracy by means of a scale of compensation which takes account of all the conditions of the labor market, and thus equalizes the pecuniary and personal attractions of the civil service to those of the learned and other professions. No one will deny, however, that there are not many states in which this system could be successfully applied. It is possible only in a country where fluctuations of the labor market are slight and rare; where the facilities of higher education are abundant and the influence of the cultivated classes is very great; and where the traditions of the service are little disturbed by the vicissitudes of public opinion and political parties.

This reflection does not, however, lessen the importance of the chief point on which we wish to insist, namely: the democratic character of the Prussian system. For to show that a foreign institution, whether recommended for adoption or only for study, is not a vile instrument of kings and aristocrats but is highly popular and democratic, cuts the ground from under the clamorous demagogue who will have no reform at any cost, and reassures the honest but timid citizen who fears lest reform be at the cost of the people. Against both classes it is useful to insist that civil-service reform aims not at taking the offices away from the people, but the contrary. It takes from the few, but only that it may render to the many; from Mr. Butler and Mr. Blaine and Mr. John Kelly, in order to restore to the people of Essex, of Maine, of New York. Any one who honestly studies and fairly masters it will see that the Prussian system is the really democratic, and that our own is by comparison aristocratic or oligarchic. In Prussia, Schmidt, who aspires to a career in the Government service, makes his studies according to a general law, and then has a right to adoption into the judiciary, diplomacy, or other department, as the case may be. In this country Smith must first acquire the favor of Jones, and Jones must have influence

with Brown and White, and these with still higher dignitaries, till the appointing power is reached. But it is evident that under this system the number of citizens who have any chance of obtaining office, even as a privilege, is exceedingly small, while not one can claim office as a right. What constitutes the right to office? One of two things: either hereditary authority, which Mr. Conkling would indignantly reject; or character and capacity, which are rejected in practice. For although the appointing power always affects, and sometimes sincerely means, to make the best selections, it must fail in a great number of cases. Human nature is weak, and human judgment is fallible; and it is to support the feeble faculties of the individual that Prussia adopts the system of preliminary education, and England that of competitive examinations, for the civil service. In the vast majority of cases these systems procure the best men.

It is true there is a school of American critics, of a sincerity not to be questioned, who will say that this reasoning mistakes the object of the reform desired in our administration. A civil service organized and conducted like an army would be impossible with us, they say; and would not be advisable even if possible. We should not improve the service by keeping politics out of it, but we should improve our politics by keeping officials out of the conventions. This is the logic of the President's famous order. It seems to us to revolve in a vicious circle, as we shall undertake to show.

In Prussia, happily, the caucus and convention are unknown, and in the election of deputies some degree of spontaneity is still left to the popular choice. No occasion exists, therefore, for an order like that of the President. But even if the occasion were present no order would be necessary, and for two reasons: First, in a positive sense, the officials would be repelled from rather than drawn to such gatherings by their tastes, their feelings, and the spirit of the class to which they belong. In a negative sense, they would have no special interest above their private fellow-citizens in the candidates themselves. Beyond these we know of no prescription, much less a positive rule, which interdicts their participation like other men in political movements. The laws and the constitution rather encourage such participation. Almost any official may be elected to the Diet or to local office; and in any elective capacity which they may owe to their fellow-citizens we have not heard much complaint of their want of independence. Now, it must be clear that the contemptuous neglect of the low intrigues of politics which they practise on the one hand, and the intellectual freedom which they bring to higher political work on the other, are possible only to officials whose tenure is independent of partisan favor, and in a great measure of executive preference. Any other explanation would make human nature in Prussia different from what it is elsewhere. But if, on the contrary, the "collector" of Berlin were appointed on the recommendation, say, of Herr Lasker, and were likely to be dismissed as soon as his patron ceased to have a vote in the Diet, he would exhibit the liveliest interest in the regular re-election of that deputy. He would be a busy worker at ward meetings. He would faithfully attend the sessions of the "Vertrauens-Männer" of Herr Lasker's party in his district: and he would know how to secure the right degree of loyalty in the persons of the other members.

This result would not only be natural, it would be inevitable. No executive prohibition would affect it. How much more unreasonable it was, then, to expect any good result from the President's method, in a country where respect for the central authority, or for any authority, is so very slight; where the Congressional patron is likely to survive the remote President; and where, above all, the Senate divides the power, as it ought to divide the responsibility, of the executive? Mr. Conkling is a concrete person and a very permanent Senator. His friendship is a calculable quantity, like his support; but what assurance can be given that if an official forfeits that support in pursuance of the policy of to-day, the President of to-morrow may not reverse that policy, and dismiss its innocent supporters? All the measures taken, as yet, by the Administration fall far short of solving this problem. They begin the reform where it ought to end; or rather they propose as the leading object what ought to be only an incidental, however desirable, result.

The example of Prussia brings reformers back into the region of the practical—examination, competitive or not, but in either case by impartial, non-partisan boards, who are forbidden to apply other tests than those of character and capacity. This relieves both the appointing power and the candidates from serious temptations. Security of tenure, without the possibility of removal, except for cause, will make the service stable, and its members independent of improper influence from without or above. Promotion in the order of merit or of seniority, which, in nine

cases out of ten, will be the same thing, and retirement at the proper age with a fair pension, are the two remaining features of such a civil service as we have in view. If now any one supposes that men whose official position is guaranteed by such safeguards would be enthusiastic at primaries, or would be running off to "work" for this man or that, he has an extremely low opinion of human nature. Everybody knows that the party zeal of office-holders is largely factitious. They are active in the cause because that sort of activity got them their offices, and because at present it is the best way to keep them. Put their official tenure on a different basis, and they will need no executive order to keep them at home and at their legitimate duties.

This is, at least, the lesson from Prussia's experience, and we trust it will not be considered romantic or extravagant. If the President had succeeded in his way he would have deserved the thanks of every good citizen. His intentions were doubtless above reproach. But neither he nor any other man can succeed in what we call civil-service reform so long as appointments are made directly to the very highest offices; so long as the service does not offer young men a career, like the army or the navy or the learned professions; so long, in short, as human nature remains as it is, and good men even in the White House can be tempted by Satan. The efforts of true reformers ought not to rest on the good intentions of any man. Not the ability to resist temptation, which one President may have and another not, will save us, but freedom from exposure to temptation; and this can be secured only by reducing to a minimum the possibility of caprice and favoritism in appointments.

A FRENCH VIEW OF METTERNICH.—I.

PARIS, Feb. 5, 1880.

THE 'Memoirs of Prince Metternich' are almost an event. We find in them the shadow not of coming events, but of past events; and the world which reads with a feverish interest the 'Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat' cannot be insensible to these 'Memoirs,' which show us the great Cæsar of our age in contact not with an amiable and frivolous lady-in-waiting, but with a real statesman.

Our time had almost forgotten Metternich; he was not much more than a name for the new generation. His system had fallen with him in 1848, and we have little indulgence for the past, even when it has not been a failure. I have heard it said that M. Guizot met Metternich in London after 1848; they were both fleeing before the Revolution. Metternich had been anything but amiable to the Government of July and to M. Guizot while the latter was in power; he had always looked upon the Government of 1830 with distrust and fear. However, now they were both in exile. Metternich said proudly to Guizot during a conversation on the recent events: "I have no regrets; error never approached me." "I am happier than you," answered Guizot; "I have made some errors in my life, and I was always so fortunate as to perceive it." In the same conversation Metternich uttered a word worth remembering. Guizot said to him: "You, who have governed Austria so long—" Metternich interrupted him: "I beg your pardon, I have sometimes governed Europe; I have never governed Austria."

The Metternich of 1848 is the only Metternich who has left an impression on our time; but the true Metternich must be found in the 'Memoirs' now published by his son, Prince Richard Metternich. He was a type. He had a clearness of view and a strength of character which gave him the means of resisting, and of resisting successfully, the greatest military and political genius of our age—I mean Napoleon I. Metternich was born in Coblenz in 1773; he was sent in 1788 to Strasbourg, where he finished his studies in the French University, which had preserved a semi-German character and always received many German students. A year afterwards the French Revolution broke out. Young Metternich did not drink of its cup; he was not inebriated by the famous "principles." His father was ambassador of Austria to the Bund; he was born a conservative. He left Strasbourg for Mayence, where he studied law, but his studies were interrupted by the war. It is the opinion of Metternich that if the Duke of Brunswick had marched boldly on Paris after his first successes in Champagne he would have entered the French capital almost without meeting with any resistance. The time had not come; "the evil," says he, "had made too much progress to be stopped by mere military operations, and Europe nursed too many illusions about the Revolution to make it possible to use at the same time moral remedies and the force of arms." Metternich joined his father in Brussels, and spent the winter of 1793 in the Low Countries. His father represented the Austrian Government at that court, and he himself watched the mili-

tary operations with the keenest interest. He accompanied to London the treasurer of the Low Countries, and made the acquaintance of William Pitt, of Fox, of Burke, of Sheridan. In his fervor against the crimes of the Revolution he composed a "project of an appeal to the imperial and royal army, written in the ardor of my youth in 1793." This manuscript is now published for the first time; it is pompous and sentimental, but it shows that Metternich was always the same man, and he could write in his 'Memoirs'—"From my earliest youth to the thirty-sixth year of a laborious ministry I have never lived an hour for myself."

On his return to Vienna he married, the 27th of September, 1795, at Austerlitz, the granddaughter of the famous Chancellor Kaunitz, and in 1801 he was named Minister to Dresden. In 1803 he was sent to Berlin; and the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg having entered, in the month of November, 1804, into an offensive and defensive alliance, it became the duty of Metternich to try to persuade Prussia to enter it also. The difficulties were great, the King was weak, Hardenberg was afraid and undecided. The Czar was very angry with Frederic William III., and warned him, through Prince Dolgoruki, that if he was not an ally, he would be treated as an enemy. Still, Metternich could obtain nothing, and the King of Prussia had just dismissed Dolgoruki when he heard that Napoleon, in order to turn the Austrian army at Ulm, had violated the Prussian territory near Anspach. The King of Prussia now became very angry with Napoleon, and on the 3d of November entered into the treaty of alliance. It was too late; the Prussian army was not ready; the battle of Austerlitz was fought, and Berlin was obliged to become very humble towards Napoleon. Metternich says in his memoirs that the treaty of November was communicated at once to France; and by whom? By the Prussian Minister Haugwitz. "Political crimes," he observes, "are like all crimes; time, which tears away every veil, discovers them sooner or later, and they never remain unpunished." . . . The French Minister in Vienna was M. de Laforest; as soon as Haugwitz had made his treaty with Austria and Russia, he went to Laforest and read it to him. Laforest reproached him, and Haugwitz told him, "We could not do otherwise, and you see that I have stipulated everything so vaguely, and kept so much latitude, that we are bound to nothing. You may assure the Emperor that it is all 'un jeu,' and that we are and will remain the best friends." The end of this "jeu" was Jena.

After the disastrous treaty of Presburg, which tore from Austria the fifth part of her possessions—Venice, Istria, Friuli, Dalmatia, Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, the Breisgau, the city of Constance—Metternich was sent as ambassador to Paris. He arrived there the 4th of August, 1806, and from that day began, it may be said, his great and long duel with Napoleon. The peace in reality could be only a truce; and it became the duty of Metternich to watch every movement of his enemy, and to take advantage of all his mistakes. He began to study him as a moralist, knowing well that man has no worse enemy than his own passions, especially when he is armed with supreme power. This was the state of Paris when Metternich arrived at the French capital:

"Paris was in a state of torpor, which resulted from the sense of oppression felt by every class of society. With the exception of the *agents provocateurs* [the police agents of the secret service] not a person would have dared openly to express an opinion unfavorable to the Government. . . . The impression which the news of a victory by Napoleon produced on the Parisian public was not so much joy as the satisfaction of having escaped the consequences of a defeat, and of seeing that the internal peace was not in danger of being altered by the consequences of such a defeat. The Emperor could well say then: 'La France c'est moi.' The revolutionary elements were only sleeping. In Europe France had not a single friend; there was always a feeling of inquietude mixed with the pleasure caused by a victory of the French army; for everybody knew that these victories made new victories necessary. . . . With very few exceptions the French nation would have willingly exchanged glory for security. Under the Restoration the appeal to glory became the arm of the Bonapartist and Revolutionary Opposition."

Metternich was well placed in order to see that all the plans which Napoleon made for Germany were purely selfish plans; the latter once told him: "All I want of the Bund is men and money." Napoleon's cynicism was such that a man of heart and of honor could not long tolerate him. Metternich always considered a new war with Napoleon as an absolute necessity; the 15th of April, 1809, he received his passports; in his opinion, Austria had not waited long enough and Germany was not quite ready. He was right; the campaign of 1809 ended disastrously for Austria, even more disastrously than the campaign of 1805. Metternich was named in July minister of foreign affairs; he became the executor of the ignominious peace of Vienna. The task was a painful one; he made this programme for himself:

"I gave the first place to the preservation of the nucleus which, after our unhappy campaign, still formed the Empire of Austria. Led away by the desire to assure to himself the definitive domination of the European continent, Napoleon had passed the limit of the possible; this was not doubtful to me. I foresaw that he and his enterprises could not escape a sudden ruin. The *how* and the *when* were enigmas for me. So my conscience traced for me the way; I had not to stop the natural march of events, and I was to preserve for Austria the chances of rising which the first of all forces, the force of things, kept in reserve sooner or later for her heroic sovereign."

To tie the remaining provinces of Austria round the dynasty; to save them from invasion and preserve them neutral during the commotions of the nation, and to be ready to enter a European coalition as soon as this coalition should be strong enough—such was the Metternichian policy. It explains at the same time his apparent complacency for a while, the facilities even which he gave at times to Napoleon, and the relentless ardor and obstinacy of the later days, when he was able to bring his arch-enemy to bay. An archduchess was the first sacrifice made to Napoleon by Austria, and the dynastic preoccupations of the French Emperor became a powerful weapon in the hands of Metternich. He bound Napoleon to Austria by means of the archduchess, but he did not feel bound himself, nor was the Emperor of Austria tied in any way. Human sacrifices are not abolished in politics; poor Maria-Louisa herself knew that she was sent to the Minotaur as a victim; she perfectly understood her part; she knew that her sacrifice would give a little breathing-space. When Metternich received the first overtures of Napoleon about the marriage with an archduchess he called on the Emperor and said to him: "Your majesty is a sovereign and a father; it behoves your majesty only to consult the duties of a father and of an emperor." The princess, when she was consulted, said: "I only wish what my duty commands me to wish; when the interests of the Empire are at stake, you must consult them and not me. Tell my father to obey only his duties as a sovereign, and not to subordinate these duties to my personal interests." When Metternich transmitted these words to the Emperor, "What you say," he rejoined, "does not surprise me; I know my daughter too well not to have expected such an answer. . . . My consent to this marriage will assure the monarchy a few years of peace, during which I will try to heal its wounds. I owe myself to my peoples. I cannot hesitate. Send a courier to Paris and say that I will accede to the demands of the Emperor of the French." And thus the young archduchess was sent to France. I have a small portrait of her at that period. She wears a white muslin gown; her head and dress are adorned with roses. She has a good, quiet German face, without any beauty, but with much simplicity—blue eyes, as blue as a forget-me-not; her blonde hair was put up in curls on the top of her head, after the fashion of the time. This blonde-and-white little princess was sent as a peace-offering to the dark, bilious, and restless Corsican. But she only postponed for a short time the inevitable struggle, which we have next to recall.

Correspondence.

MORE (AND FINAL) STATISTICS OF THE HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the issue of the *Nation* for February 26 your correspondent 'H.' points out the rapid decline in the proportion of college-educated men attending the Harvard Divinity School since 1845. By his showing the proportion has decreased from 8 out of every 10 holding a college degree to 3½ out of every 10, averaging periods of five years.

I presume his figures are correct, but they are limited by the source of his information, viz., the triennial catalogue, which reaches only down to the year 1874. By consulting the *annual* catalogues since that date I have discovered the following facts, which ought to be subjoined to his statements if the whole truth on this subject down to the present moment is to be given. I find in the

Year.	Students.	College Degree.	Out of Ten.
1875-6	12	8	6 and 2-3
1876-7	17	10	5 and 4-5
1877-8	17	11	6 and 2-5
1878-9	22	18	8 and 1-5
1879-80	19	14	7 and 2-5
	87	61	7

Seven college graduates in every 10 students; certainly an astonishing jump from the 3½ of the preceding semi-decade! What is the explanation?

I have given the figures in detail that you might see that the change is due to no accidental influx of college men for a year or two, but that it indicates a steady and persistent movement which, if I am not mistaken, will be continued in the future. Any one acquainted with the history of the Divinity School knows that for several years back, submitting to popular pressure, it has admitted and sheltered a grade of students not inferior, indeed, to those present in its sister schools—the Episcopal at Cambridge, for instance—but yet inferior in training and ability to what the community has a right to demand of its future religious instructors. Hereafter the school proposes to offer every inducement to those who wish to study theology in a free and catholic spirit, provided they come properly equipped for that task, but *not* otherwise. In short, the standard is being raised in this department of the University, as it has already been raised in the Medical and Law Schools; let us hope with the like happy result.

NEWBURYPORT, March 1.

CONCERNING A CHARGE OF PLAGIARISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of February 12 a paragraph appeared charging the writer of an article in the *International Review* for February entitled "Universal Suffrage in New York" with stealing his article from the Report of the New York Municipal Commission of 1877. As we were warned in the paragraph against Mr. Mills, the writer of the article in question, we wish to say that we have compared the article and the Report with the greatest care, and can find no justification whatever for the charge made by the *Nation*.

We may add also that when Mr. Mills forwarded to us the Report for comparison with his article, he stated that, although, like everybody else who took any interest in such subjects, he was familiar with the scheme proposed by the Report, he had never read the Report itself. In this connection we should like to call your attention to the fact that the note to the article which drew out the attack of the *Nation* and which criticised the work of the Commission, referred only to the scheme proposed and said nothing of the Report.

Very truly yours,

JOHN T. MORSE, JR.,
H. C. LODGE,
Editors *International Review*.

February 28, 1880.

[We did not accuse Mr. Mills of "stealing his article from the Report of the Municipal Commission." This conveys the idea of textual copying. What we said was that he "reproduced the description [too strong an expression, we admit] of a distinction and the reasons of it" contained in the Report, and that, "having adopted the arguments of the Commission, he adopted their plan," but added that this "convicted him of nothing disreputable"; that what made it disreputable in our eyes was a foot-note in which he treated the plan of the Commission with great contempt, as if he had examined the Report and found nothing in it. As it now appears that he had actually not read the Report when he wrote his article, of course we did him gross injustice, because a man cannot steal what he never saw, and we are thus saved the trouble of contending with his editors. But the inconveniences and dangers of writing an article for a Review without looking at the more conspicuous and recent contributions to the literature of the subject are very obvious. Not the least of them is the risk the writer runs of being suspected of borrowing what he has really himself laboriously conceived. The criticism in the note which the editors of the *International* recall did not "refer only to the scheme proposed and say nothing of the Report." The editors have overlooked the passage in which the omniscient author says: "The gentlemen who framed the scheme thought they had guarded against such a capture [that of the machinery by politicians] by restricting the constituency to tax and rent-payers; but any practical politician could have told them," etc. What "the gentlemen thought" about their scheme could only be found in the Report; and the gentleman who wrote this note without reading the Report we must still continue, therefore, to consider a writer against whom editors of Reviews may not improperly be warned.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

BY a new fac-simile process "which dispenses entirely with retouching," the 356 plates constituting the complete works of Rembrandt have been reproduced "in absolute perfection," according to M. Charles Blanc, who describes, annotates, and chronologically catalogues them in a work of which Mr. J. W. Bouton is the American agent. It will form 3 vols. royal folio, besides a portfolio for the larger pieces, and the minimum price will be \$150.—D. Lothrop & Co., Boston, announce for early publication an illustrated 'Concord Guide-Book.' They have ready a ' Fireside Library ' of 100 "carefully selected volumes in uniform bindings," intended for the use of parents in the training of their children.—Dodd, Mead & Co. will shortly publish 'Adventures in Patagonia: a Missionary's Tour of Exploration [in 1833],' by the Rev. Titus Coan; a work on Alaska, by the Rev. Sheldon Jackson; and 'Success with Small Fruits,' from *Scribner's Monthly*, by the Rev. E. P. Roe.—The current issue of the *Magazine of American History* (for February) is again a "Washington number." It is embellished with engravings on one sheet of the Peale (1772), Houdon (1785), Trumbull (1792), and Stuart (1796) portraits on canvass or in marble; a larger engraving from the authentic St.-Ménin crayon in profile (about 1798); and woodcuts and fac-similes. Some interesting particulars about Houdon's plaster cast and statue are given in an article on the "National Standard for a Likeness of Washington," by Mr. William F. Hubbard.—In December last began the publication of monthly Johns Hopkins University Circulars (4to, pp. 8, 12, 16), containing the calendar and other information necessary for students, but also recording briefly the doings of the several societies of which a list is given on p. 13. They are: the Scientific Association, of which Prof. Sylvester is President; the Philological, Prof. Gildersleeve, President; the History and Political Science Association, President Gilman; the Metaphysical Club, Mr. C. S. Peirce, President; and the Biological Association, which meets in the Laboratory. We do not know what other university or college can show similar and so useful organizations.—The original work done in the Physiological Laboratory of the Harvard Medical School during the past seven years is fairly represented in the volume of collected papers just made up for private circulation. Two of the eleven papers relate to the digestive process, two to the respirative, and the rest to the action of the heart, the function of the epiglottis, the physiology of the cortex cerebri, a new form of inductive apparatus, etc. These papers were originally printed in divers periodicals.—We have received Part I. of a Catalogue of the Library of the U. S. Naval Observatory, 'Astronomical Bibliography,' by Prof. E. S. Holden. It contains a list not to be found elsewhere "of all the indexes to scientific periodicals relating to Astronomy, Geodesy, Optics, and Mathematics" which are in the library just mentioned, "together with a list of such works on scientific bibliography as are of constant use in the conduct of researches in these subjects." As this is a preliminary list, merely, we may remark some typographical lapses in the printing of foreign titles, both as regards the use of capitals and correctness of spelling and accent.—Recent English announcements include 'Ilios; the City and Country of the Trojans,' by Dr. Schliemann; 'A Short History of India,' by J. Talboys Wheeler; 'Japan: its History, Traditions, and Religions,' by E. J. Reed, M.P.; 'Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,' by Isabella Bird (of which G. P. Putnam's Sons will be the American publishers); 'The Great Desert of the Sahara,' by Donald Mackenzie; 'Matabele Land and the Victoria Falls,' from the Journal of the late Frank Oates; 'Portugal, Old and New,' by Oswald Crawford; 'Bulgaria and the Bulgarians,' by the Marquis of Bath; 'Historical Geography of Europe,' by Edward A. Freeman; 'A Cavalier's Note-Book—William Blundell, of Crosby, Lancashire'; 'Introduction to English History,' by S. R. Gardiner and J. B. Mullinger; 'Life of Lord Beaconsfield,' by Georg Brandes; 'Life and Correspondence of Richard Cobden,' by John Morley; 'John Keats,' a study, by F. M. Owen; 'Victorian Generals,' by C. R. Low; 'Life of Lt. Gen. Sir James Outram,' by Maj. Gen. Goldsmid; 'Origin of the Zulu War,' by Miss Colenso and Lt. Col. Durnford; 'Our Future Highway,' by Commander Cameron; 'Life and Philosophy of Spinoza,' by Frederick Pollock; 'Six Lectures on the History and Prominent Features of German Thought from 1750 to 1850,' by Karl Hillebrand; 'Mémorial of Francis Deák'; 'Memoirs of the Duke of Saldanha'; Locke's 'Thoughts on Education,' with introduction and notes by the Rev. R. H. Quick; 'Thalassius,' and other poems, by A. C. Swinburne; 'A Selection of English Poetry,' in four volumes, by T. H. Ward; 'Hodge and his Master,' by Richard Jefferies, author of 'The Gamekeeper at Home,' etc.

—To those who like to read about the inner life of the stage and its people no more entertaining book can be recommended than the 'Scènes de la vie de théâtre' of M. Abraham Dreyfus. The author is one of the most promising of the younger French dramatists, and this book is as bright and as clever as the best of French work. It gives at once a more amusing and a far juster view of the subject than M. Zola's 'Nana.'—A new monthly periodical, *L'Ordre Social*, comes to us from Zürich (Paris: Auguste Ghio). Its scope does not exclude the natural sciences, philosophy, statistics, criticism, or literature. Its aim is distinctly Socialistic.—Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, has published, as vol. iii. of 'Contributions to the History of African Exploration,' the diary of Dr. Paul Pogge, who, in the service of the German Society for the Exploration of Equatorial Africa, survived the ill-starred expedition of 1874-75, and here reports his experiences, more especially from the easternmost Portuguese station, Kimbundo, to the domain of Muata Jamwo. His route lay somewhat north of Cameron's last journeys. Interesting lithographs and woodcuts, and a comparative map of travel in the southern part of the Congo valley, add to the value of this unpretentious volume.

—The Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum make the welcome announcement that they will open the new building in Central Park on Tuesday, March 30. One of the four picture-galleries will be filled with paintings already owned by the Museum; in the other three it is desired "to bring together not only choice specimens of foreign art, but a representative collection of the works of American artists." A loan collection of art objects, for which suitable cases have been provided, is also contemplated. Persons willing to loan either paintings or art objects are requested to communicate at once with the Secretary of the Special Committee on Loans, Mr. S. P. Avery, 86 Fifth Avenue, as delivery must take place not later than March 20.

—Congress is being showered with petitions to reduce the duties on printing-paper and types, and the newspapers of the West especially are joining in the cry with all the fervor of self-interest. We have no disposition to oppose the movement, but we should be glad to observe a unanimity among editors as to the necessity of a scientific revision of the tariff. It may be all very well to put quinine on the free-list one day, and types and paper six months later, and so on; but if these changes would have no serious effect upon the revenue, so would not a vast number of others, and there is no reason for a hand-to-mouth procedure when a methodical and rational enquiry is possible touching the whole round of absurdities and inconsistencies. But the duties on paper and type are a tax on intelligence. So is the duty on books, with its twenty-year limit, and the law is so obscure that no one can tell exactly what is meant by this limit. One of the best-known and most highly-respected of London dealers is at this moment a defendant in our courts on a charge of smuggling, the ground being that he put a new title-page as publisher to books published beyond the limit—"remainder" editions as they are known to the trade—without altering the original date. It remains to be seen whether this comes under the exemption allowed by the Secretary of the Treasury, March 5, 1872, for old books rebound and repaired. If it does not we shall expect our esteemed contemporaries to make their voices heard in favor of clarifying and civilizing the statute.

—Brazil has met with great difficulty in procuring European labor for its agriculture, which is its only industry. Besides other causes, the institution of slavery has driven away white laborers, so that the Government has been compelled to look elsewhere with a view to supplying the coffee and sugar-cane planters with hands. The present Premier, Sr. Sinimbu, who is himself a large planter, favors the importation of Chinese, and, in order to spread detailed information in regard to this people, commissioned the Brazilian Consul-General in this city, Sr. Salvador de Mendonça, to write a book on Chinese immigration to the United States. The report of Sr. Mendonça is now printed, under the title 'Trabalhadores Asiáticos,' in a 12mo of 280 pages (New York, 1879). After giving a well-compiled review of the history, geography, customs, government, etc., of China, the consul shows the past and present condition of the foreign relations of that country, principally with the United States, and then dwells on the experiment of Chinese labor in the Indian Archipelago, British Guiana, and California, and reaches the conclusion that, considering the actual needs of Brazil, the employment of Chinese in the Empire is essential as a stepping-stone between the present and undesirable African and the European labor. A current of Chinese immigration once directed to Brazil, he thinks, would have the immediate effect of lowering the price of the slaves, and would thus hasten complete emancipation. That it may have this effect we are willing to admit. The dan-

ger of such immigration is, however, in the virtual enslaving of the Chinese themselves, and it is doubtful whether public opinion in Brazil is enlightened enough to discourage any such attempts. At any rate, the elaborate report of Sr. Mendonça will no doubt prove a valuable contribution to the discussion of the question in Brazil.

—Byron's "Chawles, or A Fool and his Money," now having what promises to be a successful run at the Park Theatre, is neither a very good nor a very bad play, but it is decidedly entertaining throughout. The idea of a servant suddenly made a wealthy man is a legitimate comic subject, and if Mr. Byron does not make much of it, it is because contrast of character, and indeed character itself, are by no means his forte. He has a tolerable idea of dramatic construction and is very good at dialogue—though his fondness for plays upon words at times degenerates into a vice—but he labors under the defect of a fundamental inability to conceive a dramatic character. *Charles Liqueurpound* is by far the nearest approach to it that he has made; a thoroughly good comic actor could easily create a character out of the part. Mr. Lewis, however, is not a comedian in the true sense of the word. He never will put into a part anything more than the author provided for it. His strength lies in a farcical appearance and manner. His deficiency of dramatic power is shown in a thousand little things, not much in themselves but quite sufficient to prove this. For instance, in the first act, in order to impress upon the audience his position in the *Ransome* household, he repeatedly touches an imaginary hat, a gesture of course impossible and absurd in a confidential valet. In the second and third acts, too, after he has come into the property, he is simply a vulgar *nouveau riche*, but there is none of that conflict of characters between the valet and the landed proprietor which Byron no doubt had in view, and which it is essential to bring out in order to make the part lifelike. *Mary Draper* (very well played by Miss Ada Gilman) is a conventional dramatic type, as are also *Percival Ransome* and *Mr. Pentland*. *Brabazon Vandeleur* is a peculiar creation of Mr. Byron's, which we can imagine made very entertaining by competent acting. Mr. W. J. Ferguson does it as well as he knows how, but, though he makes it absurd, does not make it real. It is almost a farce character as it is, so that it is hardly necessary to burlesque it. In addition to the puns which are scattered through the play, "Chawles," in virtue of his position, is gifted with a wonderful facility of confounding like-sounding but unfamiliar words with one another. His pathetic description of his feelings with regard to a "momentum" in the first act, and his joy over the "momentum" when it is at last discovered, are very amusing. His linguistic confusion, too, is not accidental. It is of just the kind to be expected from a person in his position. In other words, it is what a good deal of the play is not—in character.

—The month of March promises to be of unusual interest in musical matters. Besides the regular concerts of the season given by the Philharmonic, Oratorio, and Symphony Societies, we have a spring season of Italian opera, and Mr. Joseffy is advertised to play in seven orchestral and four chamber-music concerts. The first of these orchestral concerts took place on Monday night and was entirely devoted to Chopin. Chickering Hall was crowded, and the artist rendered the three numbers of his programme, the two Pianoforte Concertos in E minor and F minor and the Andante Spianato and Polonaise, with his usual mastery. Mr. Mapleson opened his short spring season of Italian Opera on Monday evening with every mark of public favor. "Lucia" was the opera selected for the opening night, and introduced Mlle. Marimon for the first time in the leading part. She failed, however, to make a strong impersonation. Her acting in the highly dramatic scenes of the first and second acts was lacking in warmth and spirit. She showed to greatest advantage in the third act, where her superb school and her beautiful voice came out with wonderful brilliancy. The remaining principal parts were in the hands of old favorites, Signori Campanini and Galassi, whose excellent acting and singing again excited general and hearty admiration.

—Mr. Carlberg's long advertised symphony concert on Saturday evening was not a success. The performance itself was good enough, as it could hardly fail to be, for Mr. Carlberg, who is an experienced conductor, had selected his forces from among the best artists of the Philharmonic and Symphony Societies. But the programme was singularly devoid of interest, and had nothing to recommend it but the doubtful merit of novelty. Ulrich's "Symphonie Triomphale" is a shallow, uninteresting composition of commonplace themes, which lack even the merit of being cleverly put together. The instrumentation is at times brilliant and effective, but that is all. There is hardly an original idea in any of the four movements, and what the composer has not borrowed from Schu-

bert, Schumann, and Mendelssohn is hardly worth listening to. Meyerbeer's music to "Struensee" is characteristic of the clever, experienced musician who wrote it. It is full of instrumental and sensational effects that strike the common ear, but make no impression on a cultivated mind. The twelve long numbers are particularly devoid of ideas, and, with their endless repetitions, wearisome in the extreme. The lady who played Mozart's Concerto in D is said to be an amateur; her performance gave abundant proof of this.

—The following criticisms, made by an aboriginal Hawaiian, of a recent article in the *Nation* ("The Decay of the Polynesian," in No. 734), are extracted from the private letter which contains them by permission of its recipient, a resident of this city. Their interest will not be lessened by the circumstance that their writer is the present King of the Hawaiian Islands, whose visit to the United States in 1875 will be freshly remembered. Kalakaua was born (Nov. 16, 1836) of pure Polynesian parents, and represents an older line of chiefs than the Kamehamehas, his predecessors. He was educated in Honolulu; in February, 1874, he was elected the sovereign of Hawaii—not the least interesting, though perhaps the smallest, of the many kingdoms enumerated in the *Almanach de Gotha*. His amiable personal qualities have made Kalakaua a very popular king. Of the quality of his thought the reader will judge by the following extracts; while they will appeal to his intellectual curiosity by affording the rare opportunity of a clear glimpse into a foreign and completely non-Aryan mind—rare, whether by reason of an insufficient knowledge, on either part, of the alien language, or, when that barrier does not exist, as in the case of some highly cultivated Chinaman or Hindoo, then by reason of a politic reserve in the comparison of opinions. We should say that in transcribing this interesting letter we have made but the slightest verbal changes, the Hawaiian "king's English" being, except for the few nuances of expression which the reader will notice, nearly the same as our own:

"HONOLULU, November 17, 1879.

"The only comment I have to make upon the article in the *Nation*, which the writer was kind enough to send me, regarding the decrease of the Hawaiian race, is the continual flinging of writers at the oppression of the chiefs upon the people as being one of the chief causes of the depopulation. I allude to Dibble, Ellis, Bingham; and it has been taken up by the *Nation*. The writer is silent as to how the oppression was done. Our people were more healthy and prolific under their chiefs than under the present condition of things. If you examine into the system of labor that the people had to undergo under their chiefs you will find that their labor was comparatively light. Four days in the month at the change of every moon is only what the chief was entitled to impose upon the people, leaving twenty-six out of thirty days in each month. That was again divided—twelve days for the people and fourteen days for the gods, or prayer-days. The oppression of the people, then, really came from the side of religion. It was out of these fourteen days of work at day and prayer at night that the priests succeeded to build their *heiaus* and temples. In every land and clime where religion has a deep hold on the masses you will find the preponderance of oppression has come from the side of priestcraft. All our human sacrifices and taboos and oppressions can be traced to no other source. The chiefs were kind to the people; they instituted a *puuhonua*, or place of refuge, where victims fleeing from the wrath of the priest could find an asylum, a haven of life. If one chief had a cause of complaint against a man he would fly to another chief's house for safety, but not to the priest's; there would be instant death.

"With all due charity and acknowledgment of the missionaries' great work, I must lay a charge against them. They taught their pupils from English books translated into the vernacular, and among the most important of the studies was anatomy. But chemistry and medicine, none. Why were these studies omitted? The Seminary turned out physicians for the soul, but, alas! none for the body. With every missionary church there ought to have been connected, besides the dispensaries at their disposal, a small convenient hospital or nursery. But none! The one great object of the work of the instructors of our pupils was to save their souls from perdition; they left the human clay to rot. The error, if you may call it so, seems to put a blot upon the whole good that has been done by the missionaries. They have done good in certain things, no one can deny, but 'they have left undone those things which they ought to have done.' The real cause of the decrease of our race, when coming in contact and assimilating with a foreign element, is neglect. We have learned now, at the cost of dear experience, if not too late, our folly. The great drama of nations will soon repeat its history in our case if we allow the chance of recuperation to pass by. I do not despair. I feel confident that with the general prosperity of the islands since the treaty of reciprocity came into effect; by the establishment of hospitals, nurseries, schools in medicine, arts, and science; and by the amalgamation of races, Hawaii will emerge from its decadence to a brighter future.

"You wrote that it seemed to you that we should 'soon be overrun with the Chinese,' and that 'the [reciprocity] treaty is a money-making business, but a sledge-hammer driving down the nails into the coffin of the Hawaiian race.' To this, my dear friend, I demur. The Chinese will come into the country so long as it is a place where he finds contented-

ness and happiness, and as long as there are high wages, like all races who fly from the persecution of one country to a more congenial one. I look at the matter in its broad sense, and not at one particular class and race of men. I would there were twenty millions more of them. I am not afraid of the Chinese. They are a peaceable race and easily governed. They are more controllable than the Irish element in your country, which has no other political ambition than to 'go against the Government.'

"At present the influx of the Chinese has about sunk to its level. Prices of labor are now lower than when the treaty came into operation. The richness of China under the worst of administrations is enough to convince the most sceptical that the Chinese, under our free and liberal institutions, will be a prosperous people, a good element to introduce in a country where no other labor can be procured. If treated well, they will be good citizens. In time, with this industrious element in our country, we shall be producers in various ways where now (excepting sugar and rice) we are consumers. With Chinese ingenuity, industry, and cheap labor, we shall be able to compete in trade with the rest of nations in the struggle of national existence.

"Whether we exist or sink in oblivion, our lot is one with all that have lived and died. Every race has its goal, and every species of man has its course to run, whether by amalgamation or actual extinction.

"Me ke aloha nui, KALAKAUA."

—An original and amusing contribution to the copyright discussion has been made by Mr. Eduard Quaas in a book-trade-journal article, which we find reprinted in the *Literarische Correspondenz*, the organ of the German authors' union. Much has been said, of late years, about the unfortunate state of the German literary man, as compared with his brothers of France and England, and three causes have been assigned for it: namely, the enormous number of translations of novels, travels, histories, etc.; the extensive reading of English books; and the popularity of works which are beneath criticism, and hence unknown. These evils are not ignored by Mr. Quaas, but they seem to him of little importance compared with the harm done by circulating libraries. The circulation of a book in one of these institutions is, he says, in principle, the same thing as its dramatization upon the stage; that is, a large number of persons have the benefit of the author's conception, without any profit accruing therefrom to him. By statute, however, the theatre-manager is obliged to make a bargain with his author, while the latter has no protection against the owner of a library. Every library copy of a book by a popular author represents, say, fifty readers, and of these it is presumable that at least ten would buy the book if it were otherwise inaccessible. This assumption is substantiated by the statistics of the book-trade in France, where there are very few circulating libraries, and these used only by the poor. Mr. Quaas therefore proposes an addition to the copyright law, by which the announcement of All Rights Reserved would make a library liable to an action for damages. Under "circulating" libraries should be understood only those in which compensation is received for the loan of books. Under the new system these libraries would still exist, and would still do the literary class an important service, for until an author had acquired a reputation he would wish to further it by means of them.

—Two new books just published abroad, for the purpose of throwing light on Hamlet, will be found interesting by Shakspeare students. One, by Dr. Zinzow, of Halle, entitled 'Die Hamleth Sage aus und mit verwandten Sagen erläutert,' is an exhaustive work, in which the Danish Hamlet tradition is compared with similar Norse, Greek, and Roman myths. The struggle between Hamlet's father, Horvendill, and Holler, Dr. Zinzow compares with the myth about Thor's conflict with the giant Hrungnir in the Teutonic mythology, and this is again interpreted as the symbolic expression of the struggle going on in nature between summer and winter. In other words; he makes Hamlet one of the numerous family of spring myths. The other work on the same subject is published in French, in Paris, with the title 'Hamlet le Danois.' The author, Alexander Buchner, tries to show that Shakspeare's "Hamlet" was based on an earlier English work, written by a learned scholar named Kyd, but now lost. He asserts that Shakspeare cannot have known the original myth, but only this English version of it, and tries to prove his point by the Danish chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus and other works. It is owing to this fact that the hero has got the Janus head by which we know him. The one face bears the impress of its first author Kyd, the second of the creative genius of Shakspeare. Buchner describes the one as the face of the viking, the other as that of the *cunctator*. Herein, he says, must be sought the interpretation of Hamlet's ambiguous character.

—It is well known that the primitive liberties of the early Germans maintained themselves longest in the two extremes of the country—in the mountains of the South (Switzerland), and the levels along the North Sea (Friesland). Much study has been given to the history of the Swiss insti-

tutions; but the Frisians, having never grown into an independent nation, have received little attention. Dr. Okko Leding has recently published at Emden a thin pamphlet: 'Die Freiheit der Friesen im Mittelalter und ihr Bund mit den Versammlungen beim Upstallsbom.' Very exaggerated notions, he says, have existed in regard to the Frisian liberties, and the extent and power of the confederacy; so obscure has its memory become that even the situation of the capital, Upstallsbom, is a matter of controversy. Dr. Leding has carefully examined and sifted the evidence, and laid before us the results of his enquiry. It was not an elaborate or powerful organization, and as a federal union presents few instructive points. What interests one especially is that the Frisians completely escaped, by their distance and the troubles of the time, the feudal institutions. They started like the rest of Germany with the condition of things which became feudalism; but when their lords divested themselves of their earlier character as magistrates they were too far off to convert these subjects into vassals, as they did in the rest of their territories. The Frisians were, therefore, left to themselves, and formed a loose confederacy for protection against the Normans and the maintenance of internal order. Their society was now an almost complete democracy until the inequalities of property developed in the fourteenth century an hereditary magistracy, which was very near forming a basis for a new feudalism. The institutions of local self-government of these free peasants are not touched upon by Dr. Leding.

SEWALL'S DIARY.—II.*

THOUGH, as a rule, the divines who pass before us through the pages of these volumes, constituting, as they did, the theocracy of colonial Massachusetts, leave in their peculiar style little to be desired, this is not always the case. It would, indeed, appear that even scandals about the relations between eminent clergymen and their female parishioners are not peculiar to our own days. For instance, in one of the rare pamphlets printed during the time covered by that portion of the diary included in the present volume, and the republication of which as part of it adds greatly to its historical value, we find (p. 81*) the following amusing anecdote of the famous Cotton Mather, illustrating his pastoral and filial methods:

"A Gentlewoman of *Gayety*, near Boston, was frequently visited by the Reverend Mr C. M. [Cotton Mather] which giving offence to some of his Audience, he promised to avoid her Conversation. But *Good intentions* being frustrated by *Vicious Inclinations*, he becomes again her humble Servant; this *Reciprocal* promise being first made, that NEITHER OF THEM SHOULD CONFESS THEIR SEEING EACH OTHER: However it becoming again publick, his Father accused him of it, who after two or three HEMS to recover himself, (like Col. Partridge at the Council-Board) gave this *Aequivocal* Answer, INDEED, FATHER, IF I SHOULD SAY I DID SEE HER, I SHOULD TELL A GREAT LYE."

As an offset to the foregoing the following genuine little scrap of nature, in the record of a private meeting, shows that the Judge himself was not insensible to the delights of congenial female society. There is in it the germ of much Shandean philosophy:

"Midweek, March, 10, 1705. The privat Meeting was at Mr Cole's, where Mrs Noyes was. I read a sermon of Mr Willard's. I went away a little before her but she overtook me near the New Meeting house: I saw the Glimpse of her Light and call'd to her; spake a few words and parted; feeling in myself a peculiar displeasure that our way lay no further together."

By far the most entertaining anecdote of the clergy, however, contained in this volume relates to Judge Sewall's own pastor, the Rev. Mr. Pemberton. For some reason he seems, in the year 1710, to have taken serious offence at a public action of the Judge's, and he evinced his feelings in a way not to be mistaken. At first he confined himself to private disputation, in which he addressed him "sharply and upbraidingly" but "with extraordinary Vehemency (capering with his feet)," saying among other things that a certain Captain Martin, an officer of the Royal Navy then in Boston, had "call'd him Rascal in the Street, and said had it not been for his coat, he would have can'd him," and that the Judge took no notice of it. He seems in his passion even to have intimated grave doubts of Sewall's judicial integrity. This was bad enough, but the very next Sunday he passed all bounds, for he gave forth the following hymn from the pulpit, the Judge being in the congregation:

"Speak, O ye Judges of the Earth
If just your sentence be:
Or must not innocence appeal
to Heav'n from your decree?"

* * Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729. Vol. II. 1699-1700-1714. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. VI. Fifth Series. [See *Nation*, Nos. 696, 697, 765.]

"Your wicked Hearts and Judgments are alike by Malice sway'd ;
Your gripping Hands, by weighty Bribes,
to Violence betrayed."

Whereupon Judge Sewall contents himself with the following meek and truly Christian entry in his diary, highly creditable to him as showing at once how deeply wounded and yet how self-contained he was :

"I think if I had been in his place and had been kindly and tenderly affectioned, I should not have done it at this time. Another Psalm might have suited his Subject as well as the 5th verse of this. 'Tis certain, one may make Libels of David's Psalms ; and if a person be abused, there is no Remedy : I desire to leave it to God who can and will Judge Righteously."

Turning now to the subject of funerals, it is astonishing to see what a fascination there was to the early Puritanic mind in the close contemplation of death. Judge Sewall seemed to gloat over his family tomb. In this volume he notes down how he enlarged the number of steps leading into it, and at the same time "dug a hole in the North East Corner and there buried the scattering bones." This is the tomb of which in the first volume of the diary (p. 443) he gives the following loving description on the occasion of his placing his little two-year-old daughter Sarah in it :

"[6th day, Decr 25, 1696] Note. Twas [the tomb] wholly dry, and I went at noon to see in what order things were set ; and there I was entertained with a view of, and converse with, the Coffins of my dear Father Hull, Mother Hull, Cousin Quinsey, and my Six Children : for the little posthumous was now took up and set in upon that that stands on John's : so are three, one upon another twice, on the bench at the end. My Mother ly's on a lower bench, at the end, with head to her Husband's head : and I order'd little Sarah to be set on her Grandmother's feet. 'Twas an awful yet pleasing Treat ; Having said, The Lord knows who shall be brought hither next, I came away."

One of the six of the Judge's children to whom he refers as being deposited in this dreary vault was an infant son, Stephen, buried July 27, 1687. It was on the occasion of the funeral of this child that he says : "Sam [his son, nine years old] and his sister cried much coming home and at home, so that could hardly quiet them. It seems they look'd into Tomb, and Sam said he saw a great Coffin there, his Grandfather's."

Indeed, the youthful Samuel seems to have had a great deal too much of this sort of thing, and about a year later we get this glimpse of him under a cheerful Puritanic exhortation :

"Sabbath, Jan. 12. Richard Denner, a flourishing youth of 9 years old, dies of the Small Pocks. I tell Sam. of it and what need he had to prepare for Death, and therefore to endeavour really to pray when he said over the Lord's Prayer : He seem'd not much to mind, eating an Apple ; but when he came to say, Our father, he burst out into a bitter Cry, and when I askt what was the matter and he could speak, he burst out into a bitter Cry and said he was afraid he should die. I pray'd with him, and read Scriptures comforting against death, as, O death where is thy sting, &c."

The incidents which occurred at some of the frequent entombments here recorded are to the modern mind simply shocking. For instance, a Major Richards was buried in April, 1694, and Sewall was, as usual, one of the bearers. In describing what took place he says :

"In the Tomb were fain to nail a Board across the Coffins and then a Board standing right up from that, bearing against the top of the Tomb. to prevent their floating up and down ; sawing and fitting this board made some inconvenient Tarriance."

As to the number of funerals Judge Sewall attended, they defy computation. Rarely a week passed without one, and sometimes he went to two in the same day. It was the commonly-received token of respect, whether to the deceased or to surviving relatives. Rings, scarfs, and mourning gloves were distributed to the guests of honor on these occasions, and the diary is filled with long lists of the bearers. Here is a description of a winter funeral of a member of the Quinsey family :

"Thursday, Xr. 5th. 1700. Sam. and I ride to the Funeral of Aunt Eli. Quinsey. Because of the Porridge of snow, Bearers rid to the Grave, alighting a little before they came there. Mourners, Cous. Edward and his Sister rid first, then Mrs Anna Quinsey, widow, behind Mr Allen ; and Cous. Ruth Hunt behind her Husband ; then Sam. and I. Bearers had Rings and Wash-Lether Gloves. I had Gloves and a Ring."

The Judge further records another incident in the history of the Quinsey family which is dramatic enough. It is in the style of Hawthorne, who ought to have woven it into one of his tales. It happened, too, at the wedding of the parents of that John Quinsey who died in 1767, just after the birth of a great-grandson, who was called after him, John Quinsey Adams :

"Thursday, Novemb. 9, 1682. Cous. Dan' Quinsey Marries Mrs Anna Shepard Before John Hull, Esq. Sam' Nowell, Esq. and many Persons present, almost Capt. Brattle's great Hall full. . . . A good space after, when had eaten Cake and drunk Wine and Beer plentifully, we were called into the Hall again to Sing. In Singing Time Mrs Brattle goes out being ill ; Most of the comp' goe away, thinking it a qualm or some Fit ; But she grows worse, speaks not a word, and so dyes away in her chair, I holding her feet (for she had slipt down). At length out of the Kitching we carry the chair and Her in it, into the Wedding Hall ; and after a while lay the Corps of the dead Aunt in the Bride-Bed : So that now the strangeness and horror of the thing filled the (just now) joyous House with Ejulation : The Bridegroom and Bride lye at Mr Airs, son in law to the deceased, going away like Persons put to flight in Battle."

Rapidly turning from deaths at bridals to other topics, the following entry would seem to indicate that the Judge, gentle-hearted as he was, had not been touched by that sentimentality as to punishments which is so marked a characteristic of more modern times. It was an eye for an eye then, and a tooth for a tooth ; and the whipping-post for both sexes :

"Jr 10th [1707]. Midweek, sentenced a woman that whip'd a Man, to be whip'd ; said a woman that had lost her Modesty, was like Salt that had lost its savor ; good for nothing but to be cast to the Dunghill : 7 or 8 joined together, call'd the Man out of his Bed, guilefully praying him to shew them the way ; then by help of a Negro youth, tore off his Cloathes and whip'd him with Rods ; to chastise him for carrying it harshly to his wife."

Here, also, is a description of the wholesale execution of pirates, which took place not far from where the jail on Cambridge Street now stands in Boston, where was then the shore of Charles River :

"Juny, 30, 1704. . . . Many were the people that saw upon Broughton's Hill. But when I came to see how the River was cover'd with People, I was amazed : Some say there were 100 Boats. 150 Boats and Canoes, saith Cousin Moody of York. He told them, Mr. Cotton Mather came with Capt. Quelch and six others for Execution from the Prison to Scarlet's Wharf, and from thence in the Boat to the place of Execution about the midway between Hanson's point and Broughton's Warehouse. Mr Bridge was there also. When the scaffold was hoisted to a due height, the seven Malefactors went up ; Mr Mather pray'd for them standing upon the Boat. Ropes were all fasten'd to the Gallows (save King, who was Repriev'd). When the Scaffold was let to sink, there was such a Screech of the Women that my wife heard it sitting in our Entry next the Orchard, and was much surprised at it ; yet the wind was sou-west. Our house is a full mile from the place."

There are, however, altogether too many curious and interesting passages in these volumes to attempt to quote them. We have given but a few of the many we had marked, but these, perhaps, are as curious and illustrative of the times and the manners as any. To one class only of these have we still room to refer. Death many times entered the Judge's family circle, and the entries in which, in few and touching words, he notes the taking away of children and grandchildren are deeply touching. In December, 1685, he described how the "faint and moaning noise of my child forces me up to pray for it" ; and two days later he adds that again he "went to Prayer : By that time had done, could hear little Breathing, and so about Sunrise, or little after, he fell asleep, I hope in Jesus, and that a Mansion was ready for him in the Father's House. Died in Nurse Hill's Lap." And then again, in 1706, he records how his grandson "poor little Sam. Hirst went through the Valley of the Shadow of Death through the oppression of Flegm." Two years later, in December, 1708, he loses another grandson, and this cry of grief goes up through his diary : "And Alas ! Alas ! seventh-day Decr 18. News is brought that the poor child is Dead about an hour by sun mane. Alas ! that I should fail seeing him alive ! Now I went too late, save to weep with my children, and kiss, and mourn over my dear Grandson."

In closing we cannot refrain from quoting at length the entries relating to the courtship, marriage, and sad subsequent death of the Judge's daughter Mary. They contain a whole modern novel ready to the writer's hand, and are full of touches of genuine human nature. It is merely necessary to premise that young Mr. Gerrish, the lover, husband, and widower of the little episode, was the son of a country clergyman, and himself engaged in business in Boston as a bookseller and publisher. Apparently the idea that their daughter looked upon him with favorable eyes did not at first meet the approval of Judge and Madam Sewall :

"Janr 24th [1703] I propound to Joseph to pray with his Mother and me for his Sister Mary ; he declines it and I pray, and was assisted with considerable Agony and Importunity with many Tears. The Lord hear and help."

"Janr 31. Mr Spensar calls here, and I enquire of him about Mr Gerrish of Wenham, what he should say ; He answer'd not directly ; but said his Cousin would come if he might have admittance. I told him I heard he went to Mr Coney's daughter. He said he knew nothing of

that : I desired him to enquire, and tell me. I understood he undertook it ; but he came no more.

"Febr 4th. Nurse Smith buried. Coming from the Grave I ask'd Mr Pemberton whether S. Gerrish courted Mr Coney's daughter ; he said No ; not now. Mr Coney thought his daughter young.

"Febr 6. is a Comfortable day. Febr 7th I deliver a Letter to S. Gerrish to inclose and send to his father, which he promises to doe.

"Febr. 17. I receive Mr Gerrishes Letter just at night.

"Febr 18th. I leave word at Mr Gerrishes shop that I would speak with him after Mr Bromfield's Meeting was over. He came and I bid him welcom to my house as to what his father writt about. So late hardly fit then to see my daughter, a'pointed him to come on Tuesday, invited him to Sufer ; I observed he drunk to Mary in the third place.

"Febr. 23. When I came from the Meeting at Mr Stephens's I found him in the Chamber. Mr Hirst and wife here. It seems he ask'd to speak with Mary below ; her Mother was afraid because the fire was newly made ; and Mr Hirst brought him up. This I knew not of : He ask'd me below, whether it were best to frequent my House before his father came to Town : I said that were the best introduction ; but he was well-come to come before, and bid him come on Friday night.

"Febr. 24. Mr Hirst tells me Mr Gerrish courted Mr Coney's daughter : I told him I knew it, and was uneasy. In the evening daughter Hirst came hether, I suppose to tell that Mr Gerrish had courted Mr Coney's daughter ; and if she [Mary] should have Mr Stoddard, she would mend her market.

"Friday, Febr. 25. Madam Winthrop, Oliver, and Mico visit my wife. In the evening S. Gerrish comes not ; we expected him, Mary dress'd herself : it was a painfull disgracefull disapointment.

"Febr. 26. Satterday, Sam Gerrish goes to Wenham unknown to me, till Lords-day night Capt. Greenleaf told me of it. He was not seen by us till Wednesday March 2, David saw him.

"March 11th. S. Gerrish calls here.

"March 14th. The Rever^d Mr Joseph Gerrish comes to our house in the evening. Dines with us March 15th Tuesday. At night his Son comes, and Mary goes to him. Mr. Gerrish goes home on Wednesday. His son comes and is entertain'd then also.

"Friday-night. [March 18] S. Gerrish comes. Tells Mary except Satterday and Lord's-day nights intends to wait on her every night : unless some extraordinary thing hapen.

"Midweek, Aug^t 24 [1709] In the evening Mr Pemberton marrys Mr Samuel Gerrish, and my daughter Mary : He begun with Prayer, and Mr Gerrish the Bridegroom's father concluded : Mr Mayhew was present.

"Novr. 10. 1710. Daughter Gerrish is brought to bed of a daughter about 6 m. My wife being with her, I sat up late and lay alone.

"Novr. 15. Came home, fair Wether, and not very Cold. Enquired of Mr. Gerrish as I came along concerning his wife : He said she was something disorder'd ; but I apprehended no danger, and being just come off my journey, went not to see her that night.

"Novr. 16. Thanksgiving. My wife sent my daughter Gerrish part of our Diñer, which as I understood she eat of pleasantly. But twas a Cold Day and she was remov'd off her Bed on to the Palat Bed in the morning. After the Evening Exercise my wife and I rode up in the Coach ; My daughter ask'd me to pray with her, which I did ; pray'd that God would give her the Spirit of Adoption to call Him Father. Then I went away with Mr. Hirst to his House, leaving my wife with my daughter Gerrish, till she call'd to go home. After our coming home, the northern Chimney of the New house fell a-fire and blazed out extremly ; which made a great Uproar, as is usual. An hour or two after midnight Mr. Gerrish call'd me up acquainting us of the extrem illness of his wife ; All the family were alarm'd, and gather'd into our Bed-Chamber. When I came there, to my great Surprise my Daughter could not speak to me. They had try'd to call up Mr. Wadsworth ; but could not make the family hear. I sent for Mr. Mayhew, who came and pray'd very well with her. I put him [manuscript imperfect] again ; Mr. Cutler the Physician said he [imperfect]. (Joseph pray'd at home with the family). [Near] four a clock after Midnight my dear child expired, being but Nineteen years, and twenty days old. When this was over, I advis'd them to take Mrs. Hubbard's Assistance ; left Mr. Mayhew there and went home. When I entered my wife's Bed-Chamber, a dolefull Cry was lifted up."

Then four months later the entries proceed :

"April, 21 [1711] Plenty of Swallows. Note. Hannah Gerrish was taken very sick last night.

"April, 22. Lords Day, B. Gray calls me up at 1. at night : I find poor little Hannah Gerrish in an Agony, I went to Prayer ; afterwards B. Gray read the 5th Rom. I found the chapter so full of Comfort that awhile after I read it over again. About 6. m. Mr Wadsworth came and pray'd with little Hanñah. Mr Gerrish her father came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past Nine : put up a Note in the Af'ernoon, which Mr Pemberton read coming out in his Gown.

"April 23. I was call'd up between 2 and 3 at night, but my little Hanñah Expired before I got thither. However, She had the Respect of one visit after death. She Expired about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after 2 at night. The Lord prepare me for my great Change.

"Third-day, April, 24. Hanñah Gerrish is buried. Bearers, Gillam Phillips, and Benj. Gray : white Searvs. Was put into the Tomb just before Sun-set, several of the Council, Dr Cotton Mather, Mr. Wadsworth, Colman there."

Then one year more passes :

"May 8th [1712] At night, Dr Increase Mather married Mr Sam, Ger-

rish, and Mrs Sarah Coney ; Dr Cotton Mather pray'd last. P.S. 90. 13—2 $\frac{1}{2}$ staves, I set Windsor Time. Had Gloves, Sack-Posset, and Cake. . . . The whole family was Invited.

"May, 13. 1712. My Wife visits the Bride and Bride-groom at Mr. Coney's ; . . ."

BEESLY'S 'THE GRACCHI' *

SO many historians have undertaken to tell the story of the downfall of the Roman Republic that it would seem impossible now to give the subject either freshness or interest. This Mr. Beesly has, however, succeeded in doing, partly by the freshness of his treatment, partly by what we may call the novelty of his point of view. We do not know whether Mr. Beesly is related in any way to Prof. E. S. Beesly, whose 'Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius' we reviewed some months ago (see the *Nation*, No. 687) ; but his point of view is very much the same. And if it appeared to be the exaggeration of a theorist to push democracy to the point of defending Catiline and Clodius, we cannot take exception to this tone in the earlier period. Here we can agree with the author in nearly all his positions. We detest Sulla—perhaps the most odious great man in ancient history—as heartily as he does ; he does not think it necessary, like Mr. Froude, to extenuate the crimes of Marius and call him a great man ; we will not quarrel with him in regard to his estimate of the Gracchi ; it is only in upholding Saturninus that he startles one—"those who condemn him must condemn Cromwell too," he says (p. 168).

The political history of the fifty years here comprised is the best and most graphic with which we are acquainted. The characterization of the leading men of the period is remarkably keen and appreciative ; for example, Scipio Æmilianus (p. 40) :

"He was a reactionist, who, when the inevitable results of those liberal ideas which had been broached in his own circle stared him in the face, seized the first available means of stifling them. . . . Brave as a man, he was a pusillanimous statesman ; and when confronted by the revolutionary spirit which he and his friends had helped to evoke, he determined at all costs to prop up the senatorial power. . . . It was well for his reputation that he died just then. Without Sulla's personal vices he might have played Sulla's part as a politician, and his atrocities in Spain as well as his remark on the death of Tiberius Gracchus—words breathing the very essence of a narrow swordsman's nature—show that from bloodshed, at all events, he would not have shrunk. It is hard to respect such a man in spite of all his good qualities. Fortune gave him the opportunity of playing a great part, and he shrank from it. When the crop sprang up which he had himself helped to sow, he blighted it. But because he was personally respectable, and because he held a middle course between contemporary parties, he has found favor with historians, who are too apt to forget that there is in politics, as in other things, a right course and a wrong, and that an attempt to walk along both at once proves a man to be a weak statesman, and does not prove him to be a great or good man."

When we call Mr. Beesly's point of view a novel one, we do not mean that his estimate of the men and their actions is new, so much as that it is founded upon a more uncompromising democratic sentiment—social rather than political—a more thorough sympathy with the humble classes, than that of any other author who has treated of this period. Whether we agree with him in this or not, it is at any rate an instructive point of view. For our own part, we do agree with him in the main, and yet what we said of Prof. Beesly's remarks upon the proletariat needs to be repeated here—that the Roman populace, being a pure proletariat, and not representing *industry* in any sense, are not entitled on their own account to any very hearty sympathy. Of course this was the fault of the system under which they had grown into what they were ; but this does not alter the historical question—there they were, a very good-for-nothing lot, a hopeless problem for even the wisest statesmanship. The system of slavery, which was the cause of this ruin, is described by Mr. Beesly in terms of condemnation as strong as need be ; but we do not think that even he has fully appreciated its deadly nature. When he compares it with American slavery, which he does often with great felicity, he cannot help considering it exclusively as a rural institution, as American slavery to all intents and purposes was. But for two reasons Roman slavery was far more fatal than American slavery ever could have been. In the first place, the American slaveholder was a country gentleman, residing upon his plantation, and identified, if in a crude and unskilful way, with the industrial interests of his country ; Roman slavery was purely speculative—its aim was to extort wealth, at whatever cost of life and suffering, for the purposes of luxury and ostentation, and for the benefit of a non-resident owner. In the next place, American

* Epochs of Ancient History. The Gracchi Marius, and Sulla. By A. H. Beesly. With maps. (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 12mo. pp. 217.)

slavery was associated with vigorous and persistent free labor in the North, so that it was always on the defensive; in ancient Italy slavery had unrestricted sway, and it is as true that slave labor will inevitably drive out free labor as that bad money will drive good money out of circulation. Hence the irretrievable degradation of the Roman proletariat; it was not, as in modern society, the outgrowth of evil civic conditions merely, but was in good truth the product of rural society. The description, therefore, of the state of society which introduces the story of the Gracchi, good as it is, cannot be pronounced altogether satisfactory. It is not so much that it has anything positively incorrect as that it seems inadequate. It does not bring the society and the government vividly before the reader; it rather talks about them than depicts them. Perhaps the thing itself is impossible; perhaps this long-vanished society, so different from our own, and yet with so much in common, cannot be reproduced. At any rate this has not yet been done. But that Mr. Beesly's failure—so far as it is a failure—comes in part from a want of clear definition, rather than of natural powers, is shown by his classing together slave and serf labor (p. 22) as equally signs of decay. The two things are fundamentally different. The slave works at the command and for the profit of his owner; the serf works in part for himself on land owned by another, but in which he has an inalienable interest. Slave labor is always destructive of social progress, except in the very beginnings of society; serfdom is not inconsistent with a tolerably advanced state of society. The two things, in fact, are less alike than slavery is to the poorly-paid labor of factory operatives.

Mr. Beesly is best in the strictly historical parts of his work; in questions of antiquities he is sometimes inaccurate. At the end of the book he gives, on a couple of pages, a list of terms and phrases, with their definitions, which he says are "only approximately precise," and which, indeed, are in some cases quite inaccurate. Thus, in the *imperium* the judicial power was quite as essential as the military. It does not convey a correct notion of the powers of the *legati* to say that they corresponded "to our generals of division." The *comitia centuriata* were not the "subdivisions" of the classes (these were the *centuriæ*) but the assembly of the people according to these subdivisions; there were not six classes, but only five (as is assumed on page 136); and the centuries were not at this period 193 or 194, but—as may be gathered from the strangely-confused account on page 204—probably 373. On this page we read: "The first class consisted of one of each of these [centuries] from each tribe, so that, as there were thirty-five tribes, each class would consist of seventy centuries." How does that follow? Moreover, we are never told what the classes were, nor, in this paragraph, how many there were. Several other matters of antiquities in this same chapter, "Sulla's Reactionary Measures"—Sulla's measures, by the way, were not all of them reactionary, but some of them very salutary—are at least open to doubt. Mr. Beesly generally follows Mr. Long, in preference to Mommsen or Lange, admiring extremely "his dogged determination never to swerve from facts to inference." If only this were possible, where facts are so very few and fragmentary as in this period; or if only Mr. Long himself had been consistent in this! To take an illustration from the legislation of Sulla, *n.c.* 88: Mr. Long says, vol. ii. p. 227 (and Mr. Beesly follows him), that Sulla's proposition was that "the votes should not be taken in the *Comitia Tributa*, but in the *Centuriata*." But Appian, the authority for this ('*Civil Wars*,' i. 59), says nothing about *Comitia*, but only that votes should be taken "not by tribes but by centuries"—an expression which may as easily mean (as Mommsen and Lange think) that he abolished the reformed method of voting in the *centuriate comitia* as that he abolished the tribal *comitia*.

RECENT WORKS ON CARDS.*

THE triple title of the interesting volume first named below corresponds to the three distinct divisions of which the book is made up. In the first Mr. Jones has gathered together seven essays on card-subjects, which he has contributed at different times to different publications; in the second he has set down certain decisions on disputed points of whist-play—with the reasons therefor—made by the late Mr. Clay, the famous "J. C."; and in a final hundred pages he drops into anecdote and gives us incidents, always authentic and always neatly told, of his score or more

of years' experience as a player of whist. To the card-expert who turns to this book for counsel and advice, perhaps Mr. Clay's decisions on nice points of law will be most interesting; but to the general reader the final anecdotes and certain of the earlier essays afford greater entertainment. Some of the anecdotes are gems, and deserve to get at once into general circulation. "Cavendish" tells us that the sly old players who take advantage of every opportunity of peering into a neighbor's hand are sometimes humorously called "triple-dummy" players; and he goes on to say that two triple-dummy players being once set against an unsuspecting youth and an "old soldier," had in a short time taken a full inspection of the youth's hand, when the old soldier rather astonished them by saying: "Partner, you had better show me your hand, as both the adversaries have seen it." And still better is the following: Mr. Clay told "Cavendish" that

"when he first played whist at a London club he was horrified to see an old gentleman deliberately looking over one of his adversaries' hands. Mr. Pacey, the player whose hand was overlooked, was, as it happened, an old friend of Clay's, and, the rubber being over, Clay took an immediate opportunity of advising him to hold up his hand when playing against P—, adding:

"The last hand he saw every card you held."
"Oh! no, he didn't," replied Mr. Pacey, who was well aware of P—'s peculiarities, 'he only saw a few I put in the corner to puzzle him!'"

Mr. Jones informs us that Mr. Clay was the original of *Castlemaine* in Mr. George Lawrence's '*Sans Merci*,' in which is made the well-known speech: "It has been computed that eleven thousand young Englishmen, once heirs to fair fortunes, are wandering about the Continent in a state of utter destitution because they would not lead trump with five and an honor in their hands." On another occasion a gentleman having made an absurdly bad play, asked Mr. Clay if it were not justifiable. To him the following crushing rejoinder, spoken very deliberately at the wall opposite, instead of to the querist: "At the game of whist, as played in England [pause], you are not called upon to win a trick [pause] unless you please."

The card essays which form the first third of the volume are of varying degrees of interest. The chapter about "The Origin and Development of Cards and Card-Games" contains much agreeable information about the growth in one country of games now universally popular, but the account of the origin of playing-cards is little more than a compilation from Dr. Wiltshire and other authorities. Mr. Jones points out that whist—to the etymology of which word he devotes an essay—is a purely English game, and he defends its claim for precedence over the oriental chess with a skill and a success which would satisfy even Mr. Abraham Heyward, to whose admirable essay on 'Whist and Whist-players' Cavendish more than once refers. We Americans have vainly, it seems, prided ourselves on the invention of poker and euchre. "The French settlers in America," says Mr. Jones (p. 68), "took *Triomphe* with them and transformed it into euchre." And from the account given (on p. 57) of *Primero*, of Roman or Florentine origin, it is obvious that poker can claim a noble Italian descent—perhaps the next best thing to being a native American. Other essays are on the "Morality of Card-Playing," on the "Duties on Playing-Cards," and on Molière's description of a game of piquet in the "*Fâcheux*," the last being an amplification of the note Mr. Jones contributed to Mr. Charles Heron Wall's translation of Molière's plays. In his final paragraph he tells us that since he began to write about games under the pen-name of "Cavendish" he has been bombarded with questions of all kinds about all sorts of games, and has answered in writing nearly ten thousand questions in the past sixteen years; but it may be doubted if any query sent him could well be odder than the question propounded about Christmas, 1877, by a lady living in the country, a total stranger to him, who asked, "May teetotallers join in a game of snap-dragon?"

Col. Drayson's book is not a rival to Cavendish's '*Laws and Principles of Whist*,' which of course still remains the standard authority, while this only aspires to be an elementary hand-book. It is frankly a volume for the inexperienced, giving first the laws of the game and then simply and directly showing what the elements of good play are. It is meant rather for the poor player conscious of his deficiency and desirous of improving than for the actual beginner. It has the merit, rare in all books about games, of telling the reader which of the many maxims it lays down are to be first learnt and applied—of showing the novice, in short, not only the varied things which the good player does, but also the way in which the beginner can best gradually acquire the same accomplishments.

* '*Card Essays, Clay's Decisions, and Card-table Talk*. By "Cavendish," author of '*The Laws and Principles of Whist*,' etc., etc. London: Thos. de la Rue & Co.; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1879.

'*The Art of Practical Whist*,' being a series of letters descriptive of every part of the game and the best method of becoming a skilful player. By Col. A. W. Drayson; R.A., F.R.A.S. New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1879.

The epistolary form, which is nowhere overworked, has been adopted, apparently for the sake of using a simple and familiar style; and it is only here and there that the author's literary inexperience is evident. It would have been better if the notes upon the laws of short whist which Col. Drayson himself contributes were typographically uniform; those on pp. 4, 7, 8, 9, for example, are in italics, while others on pp. 5, 12, 20 are in the same type as the laws themselves, from which they should in some way be sharply distinguished. All of the author's annotations might perhaps have been in square brackets [thus]. This is the only blemish which we have remarked in the construction of the book; in general it is as clear as any novice could desire. It may be recommended with confidence to any one who wishes to avoid the *triste vicillesse* which Metternich—or was it Talleyrand?—predicted for all who did not learn whist in youth.

WHITNEY'S SANSKRIT GRAMMAR.*

VERY many persons who are not Sanskrit scholars will doubtless welcome the publication of a new Sanskrit grammar by an American. We may certainly take a patriotic pride in it as a fruit of American scholarship, and, moreover, the subject itself is one to which we owe so much that we should welcome any contribution to it. The study of Sanskrit by Europeans hardly antedates the present century, and yet from it has come an entirely new philosophy of human speech, and so in some degree a new psychology; for the relation of speech to thought is so close that our views of one cannot greatly change without changing our views of the other. From it has come also the beginning of a new philosophy of religion, besides many contributions to history and ethnology. Our satisfaction may well be increased upon finding that the new grammar is also the most complete and the best that has yet appeared. Few even of those who appreciate the advantages of having a good Sanskrit grammar know how difficult it must be to make one. Though the language has been studied by native grammarians much longer than Latin or Greek has been studied by anybody, yet the native view of grammar is entirely different from that with which we have become familiar by the long study of two dead languages. A Sanskrit grammar is not intended as a means of learning the language at all, but as a system of rigid and authoritative rules to guide those who already know it in the use of it. Hence the history of European Sanskrit grammar has been a gradual emancipation of the student from the fearful panoply of rules upon rules and exceptions within exceptions, as also a working over of the endless material into compendious systems suited to our western ways of attacking a dead language. To write a new Sanskrit grammar one has not had as in most languages a frame or form ready to his hand, but the whole had to be recast on a model more and more nearly approaching our methods in Latin and Greek. Much of the native grammar is also artificial or conventional, and not supported by usage as it appears in any extant works. Even yet our grammars do not represent the usage of writers, as they do in Latin and Greek, and often it cannot be determined what rules are founded on usage and what are drawn from the fancies of pedants.

To recast the grammar in a form suitable for the western mind, and to substitute usage for traditional rule as the norm of speech, has been avowedly the aim of the author; and certainly these two ends have been attained in a far higher degree than in any other grammar which we know. No one of the earlier grammars has pretended to support its statements to any extent by citations, whereas by our author everything not known to be supported by extant literature is specially designated as "not quotable," so that we can see at once (so far as the investigation has yet gone) what is and what is not the usage of the language either in the earlier or later stages. This fact at once gives a different character to the work from that of any of its predecessors. Connected with this, but also proceeding from the author's habit of mind, is the entire freedom from pedantry noticeable in all his works, but especially in the case of this the most pedantic of subjects. Less striking but still in general a marked improvement on others, is the recasting of the matter into a scientific form according to western ideas. This has already been done in a considerable degree by both Max Müller and Monier Williams in English, and by several of the lesser German grammarians; but by no one of them is the structure of the verb put into such a learnable shape. The same is true of the subjects of derivation and composition, which are more important in a Sanskrit grammar than even those of inflexion, and far more than

the same subjects in any other language of our stock. On the other hand, we cannot help thinking that in the treatment of inflexions the grouping and arrangement of Max Müller are more easily comprehended than those of our author. This is no doubt more than compensated for by a greater fullness and exactness of statement—as, for instance, in monosyllabic root-stems; nevertheless, it seems a pity to deprive the learner of any help in so difficult a subject.

On the subject of accent this grammar is immeasurably superior to any other. Very few contain anything at all about it, and the great grammar of Benfey, which is somewhat full on the subject, is of so difficult topography that it is impossible to find anything in it. A distinct advantage of Prof. Whitney's work is that it is written throughout in the spirit and from the point of view of historical grammar. The author has purposely excluded comparative matter because it could not be given with fullness; and, much as we may regret it, if space had to be considered this could be dispensed with more easily than any other part, because it can be found elsewhere, and the historical aspect of the whole treatment constantly leads one to make comparisons. The very great advances made in phonology within the last few years, as well as the author's own genius in that direction, have enabled him to put a soul into the terrible laws of Sandhi, or list of euphonic rules. This, the most discouraging feature of Sanskrit grammar, has been made by skilful and intelligent treatment hardly more troublesome than the same subject is in Greek. Another great improvement upon former grammars is in the syntax, which, as is well known, is not a title in Sanskrit grammar proper, and for the foreign learner is full of snags and quicksands, and all sorts of impediments to progress. Prof. Whitney devotes more attention to it than does any of his predecessors, and furnishes a pretty safe conduct through the difficulties, while at the same time much valuable material is here collected for comparative syntax as soon as anybody gets wise enough to handle that subject in a more thorough manner. We should, indeed, have preferred a separate chapter on syntax, instead of having it thrown in under each etymological head as is done here; still, one is constantly surprised to find how much is stowed away in the small spaces allotted to it under each head.

We miss the catalogue of verbs usually found. To be sure, this is a cork-and-bladder appliance; yet the language is so very difficult that the student needs all the help he can get. Greek without the list of anomalous verbs would be formidable enough; but in Sanskrit nearly all verbs are, in the usual sense, anomalous. It is a pity, too, that the book had to be printed, and apparently written, in Germany. Somehow the style seems to differ from the usually clear and simple style of the author, as if the clumsy German tongue had reacted upon his mental processes and made his utterance in many places involved and almost obscure.

Brazil. The Amazons and the Coast. By Herbert H. Smith. Illustrated. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879. 8vo, pp. 644.)—This book is composed of a series of loosely-connected articles on Brazil, in the course of which a majority of the topics of general interest are touched upon. Readers of *Scribner's Monthly* are already somewhat familiar with several chapters, but, according to the preface, they have been reproduced "with so many changes and additions as to give them an entirely new character." After an elaborate study of the country, its institutions, and its people, the author attempts to give a fair idea of the empire as it is and of its possibilities in the future, personal adventures being regarded as of secondary importance. In the descriptive portions Mr. Smith appears to the best advantage. Whether treating of the government, society, industrial pursuits, natural history, the myths of the Indians, or whatever else, evidences of great caution in regard to the facts are everywhere apparent. The conclusions, however, are not always those of a man who has gone to the bottom of his subject. The work contains a great deal of well-digested information, yet there is comparatively little that has not been anticipated by Agassiz, Kidder and Fletcher, Bates, and others who have gone over the same ground. The historical references are carefully made. As a result of investigating the story of the Amazons, from whom the river derived its name, we have the safe conclusion that it is a myth. A chapter devoted to the "[North] American Farmers on the Amazons" does not give so cheerful a view of their present situation as might be justified by a comparison with pioneer life in the United States.

The zoological gleanings may in the main be characterized as superficial. Among them, p. 206, there is a picture of spider monkeys, representing a pair hanging from a limb to rob birds' nests which were out of their reach below. One holds to the limb with tail and left hand, and

* A Sanskrit Grammar, including both the classical language and the older dialects of Veda and Brahmana. By William Dwight Whitney, Professor, etc. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1879.

with his right hand clasps the left of his comrade, who is in this manner let down to the nests. Did any one ever see such a performance? The theory advanced on p. 93 to account for the treeless condition of the meadow lands northward from the mouth of the Xingú and on the island of Marajó, in the immediate neighborhood of heavy timber, will not admit of extended application. These meadows are flooded for a portion of the year, but become very dry during the season of low water. The author says "they are alternately soaked and baked; hence the forest trees will not grow on them, but they flourish well on the banks, where their roots are only covered during three or four weeks of each year." Flooded forests are not uncommon, and in California, with its seasons of wet and dry, there are magnificent forest-growths. There is a striking similarity between the conditions in the meadows of the Amazons and in the prairie regions of the Mississippi Valley. Level, grass-covered tracts, with soil so fine as to be almost impalpable, exist by the side of groves and forests on soil more coarse and broken. When the river overflows, the coarse detritus is deposited near the bed, and a bank is built up which is covered with trees; further out, in the still waters covering the meadow, the fine sediment settles to the bottom and on this the grasses flourish. The case is a good one in support of Professor Whitney's theory of the origin of the prairies—namely, that the character of the soil prevents the growth of timber; it is too fine. We are told on p. 629 that "a river valley can only be scooped out when the land is above the surface of the sea; but as this valley sinks the sea finds an entrance, and a long bay is the result," etc.; and that the Amazons has no true delta because "it has hardly had time yet to fill in the estuary bay. Moreover, the seabottom beyond the mouth must have sunk with the river valley, and the river will require a vast period to build it up to the level of the surface." According to Agassiz the reason why there is no delta is that "the sea is eating away the land much faster than the river can build it up." He also proved the island of Marajó a portion of the mainland, and suggested that if the eating process should continue for countless ages there is a possibility of the valley being cut away as far as the Madeira.

Mr. Smith is enthusiastic in his descriptions of the beautiful and picturesque. His book is much above the average of popular works on similar subjects; few are so carefully written.

The Refutation of Darwinism, and the Converse Theory of Development, based exclusively on Darwin's Facts, etc. By T. Warren O'Neill, member of the Philadelphia Bar. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 12mo, pp. 454. 1880.)—This is a thoroughgoing book. "The design is to show that the very same facts which Darwin confesses his inability to explain, yet upon which he relies to sustain his theory, may be explained in a way which signally disproves the theory that man and other species of animal, and species of plant, were evolved from lower types." "All of Darwin's facts are taken for granted, as are all of his scientific factors. The same facts, however, are differently apportioned, with but a slight variation from Darwin's mode of distribution of them." This new reading of the facts which Mr. Darwin has laboriously accumulated has resulted in two discoveries: one of these reverses the common estimate of Mr. Darwin's character, the other reverses his theory.

The first discovery is that Mr. Darwin cannot be the ingenuous and candid person he has had the credit of being. He "confesses, how frankly we do not know" (p. 43). A few pages farther on we are told of something which "might suggest to the reader that Darwin, in being so complacently content with his ignorance of any cause for variation, was governed by the fear that, if he evinced any great solicitude to find a cause, the cause might be only too ready in forthcoming, to the signal discomfiture both of himself and his theory." On p. 66 the author "cannot refrain from delicately intimating that either a dim or a well-defined consciousness" that something which Darwin well knew "would sound the knell of Darwinism, alone prevented him from disclosing" the fatal fact. Darwin "has settled in his own mind that all the improvements which arise are due to reversion," though he says the contrary, having, "to all seeming, thought it discreet" to say, in short, the opposite of what he believed; and when Mr. Darwin refuses "to explain the variations by means of reversion" Mr. O'Neill says he does it with a coolness "most unique," which is certainly true if he all the while believed the opposite. In similar taste Mr. O'Neill gets up an imaginary argumentation (pp. 75-78), at the end of which "Mr. Darwin . . . departs to assure his friend Tyndall that his theory about 'giving the religious sentiments of mankind reasonable satisfaction' is altogether utopian."

The author is a member of the Philadelphia bar—we judge one of the younger, from these and other specimens, and from the exceeding cock-

sureness of the whole treatise. We can understand the old counsel's advice: "A bad case; abuse the plaintiff's attorney"; but we do not understand why a lawyer bringing a civil (?) action, with perfect assurance of a verdict, should think it needful to abuse the defendant personally. Moreover, the whole *raison d'être* of the book is in the other discovery, namely, that what is called variation is reversion, that in all variation there is no acquisition of something new but a recovery of characters which the species once possessed and had lost by degradation. Now, a less modest man than our author would have taken credit to himself for this discovery, the illustrations of which fill the volume; but instead he ingenuously awards to Mr. Darwin the credit of having found it out, and the blame of having tried to conceal it for a sinister purpose.

We like to think fairly well of our fellow-creatures, both for sense and honesty; so, as it is evident that Mr. Darwin had pondered this matter of reversion, and explained a good many things by it, we would suggest a possible reason (over and above the assigned one that it would have spoiled his theory) why he did not adopt the doctrine that "the variations or improvements in each species are limited in number and kind to the number and kind of the characters previously lost by such species under nature"; and that, "although the type is susceptible of modification, in countless ways," this is "only at the cost of evil results which soon lead to the sterility, lessened constitutional vigor, and consequent extinction of the line of individuals which have so departed from the true moulds of their respective species." For Mr. O'Neill's hypothesis contemplates throughout organic nature either a degradation which exceeds the reversion, and so will end in the evils aforesaid, or else a reversion which will in time mainly repair all the degradation, and so make the future a complete reproduction of the past. Mr. Darwin, not being a pessimistic philosopher, but quite the contrary, would reject the first alternative—namely, that the organic world is tending from good to bad; also the second, on the ground that, even if made out, all the questions he is considering now would be merely transferred to an anterior state of things. For Mr. Darwin to ascribe all change to reversion would be laying himself open to the same criticism which a Kentucky hunter passed upon a preacher who had argued round in a circle—viz., that he came out of the same hole he went into.

Reversing the ordinary view, our author insists that the prototype of each species was an organism of a higher state of development than the type of such species as now found under nature. Adverse conditions entailed the suppression of the characters, and the mere restoration of the favorable conditions secures their redevelopment. With him all reduction from the typical number of parts and suppression of function counts as a degradation of the animal or plant, and their recovery as an improvement, which favorable conditions may secure. In the past—however it may be in the future—circumstances have largely wrought degeneration, and every abortive organ is a specimen of it. Still Nature endeavors to recuperate and restore. Under this view the reproduction occasionally met with of one of the suppressed toes of a horse into an accessory hoof would be an advantage rather than a blemish, and, of course, in the good time coming when all abortive organs are to be restored, horses should have at least their three toes again, and—as has more than once happened—lactation may again come home to men's business and bosoms.

Cincinnati's Beginnings. By Francis W. Miller. (Cincinnati: Peter G. Thomson. 1880. Pp. 235.)—This book is rather a history of the "Miami Purchase" than of Cincinnati. Of the nine chapters of the body of the work only the two last may be said to be devoted to "Cincinnati's Beginnings." The first seven chapters give a pretty full and connected account of the origin and progress of the first attempt to plant settlements of white people in what was then known as the "Miami country." The originators of the scheme (a vast land speculation) were John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, and Benjamin Stites, of Redstone, in western Pennsylvania. In 1787 Symmes (having associated with himself Jonathan Dayton, also of New Jersey, and perhaps others) made application to the Government, in his own name, for the purchase of the entire territory lying between the Little Miami and the Great Miami Rivers, supposed by him to contain about two million acres of land. A contract was finally closed, October 15, 1788, for one million acres. The quantity of land between the two Miami Rivers proved to be much less than was at first supposed, and Symmes never paid and received patents for more than about six hundred thousand acres. Symmes removed at once (1788) with a number of followers to his purchase, settling at the point to which he gave the name of North Bend, near the

mouth of the Great Miami, where he undertook the management of the speculation for himself and his associates. Here he laid out the streets and squares of a great city, in which he foresaw the coming metropolis of the West. The book gives a history of his struggles and embarrassments in the management of the large interests which he had charge of. But the object of his great hope failed entirely.

The tract of land on which Cincinnati was originally laid out had been previously sold by Symmes to three other speculators—Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, and Robert Patterson and John Filson, of Lexington, Ky. In consequence of the death of Filson, Israel Ludlow, a surveyor, became a partner with the other two before any settlement on the tract had been effected. Ludlow and Patterson, with a company of some fifteen others, who had been got together at Limestone (now Maysville), reached the ground (opposite the mouth of Licking River) about Christmas, 1788, and the settlement was commenced. Log-cabins were built on lots given to actual settlers, and the streets and squares of a town were surveyed and marked under the direction of Ludlow, who was the only one of the proprietors who determined to stay and cast his lot with the new adventure. In the next year the Government built a fort here (Fort Washington) and garrisoned it with troops for the protection of the new settlements. With this advantage, added to the natural superiority of the location over that of any other on the entire river-front of the purchase, Cincinnati rapidly outstripped North Bend in growth and importance. Its only other competitor was Columbia, at the mouth of the Little Miami, a town begun about two months before the settlement at Cincinnati. The proprietor of Columbia was Benjamin Stites, who had contracted with the Symmes associates for about a thousand acres and had planted at that point a colony considerably larger than that led by Patterson and Ludlow. A high flood in the Ohio River in December of the same year demonstrated that the site chosen was too low for a town.

This book furnishes little that is new in the way of history in relation to the "beginnings of Cincinnati." The leading facts given by Mr. Miller have long ago appeared in print in one form or another, but it is well to have them gathered up. The work of the author, embodying his materials in a connected narrative, is not, however, without its blemishes. His sentences are remarkable for their great length and involved construction, and his style is frequently disfigured by the faults of an ambitious diction. The larger part of the book, and perhaps the most valuable as material for history, is an appendix, filling 121 pages of the 235 which constitute the entire work. This is made up of twenty-eight letters and extracts of letters, most of them from Symmes to his associate, Dayton, in New Jersey. A few are from Dayton to Symmes. They all relate to the complicated affairs of the new purchase and its management, and now for the first time appear in print. The printing, paper, and binding are of the very best, and are a credit to Cincinnati book-making.

Les Peuplades de la Sénégambie. Histoire, Ethnographie, Mœurs et Coutumes, Légendes, etc. Par L.-J.-B. Bérenger-Féraud, Médecin-en-chef de la Marine, etc. (Paris: Ernest Leroux.)—The tradition that the Senegambian coast was first discovered by the Normans of Dieppe in 1304, has sufficient probability to justify the French in regarding their portion as the oldest of their foreign possessions. The occupation has been far from continuous, and, in fact, the colonies on the Senegal were contemporaneous with Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts Bay. Much has been written about the littoral settlements, which have been involved in all the European wars of the past three centuries, and about the natives of the territory lying between the Senegal and the Rio Nuñez; but the interior of this vast country is still very imperfectly known, and Dr. Bérenger-Féraud found nothing systematic or tolerably complete concerning the aborigines in more or less constant and immediate contact with the *Gouvernement*, and no study of them with a view to the future expansion of the French dominion. This last is the aim of his book, which, with characteristic orderliness, takes up the several tribes and treats them after one plan, such as is indicated in the sub-title. For the most part he describes them from personal observation, but to some extent relies upon the descriptions of other travellers. His narrative confirms the reputation which the negroes of the west coast enjoy of being among the most interesting and promising of the multitudinous peoples of Africa. He is even at pains to compare them with our European ancestors before the invasion of Cæsar, and indeed long after, and recommends the study of them as an aid to the historical imagination.

There pass in review before us first the Oulofs or Yolofs, who inhabit the alluvial plains of lower Senegambia, from St. Louis of Senegal to

Goree, and are most closely identified with the French colonists, having proved brave and docile soldiers, loyal, stoical under privations, good pupils, skilful artisans, exact accountants, shrewd traders—the counterpart of the Western European of the ninth century. These are the Yolofs of the town, who, whether Catholic or Mussulman (marabouts), wear the gris gris or amulets, consisting generally of a written verse of the Koran—often the only costume of children. The rustic Yolofs are, in spite of their religion, great drunkards, improvident as to food and clothing, polygamists with easy divorce. They have one excellent custom, that over a dead body before burial any one can speak his mind aloud about the deceased, whether for praise or blame. Their *damel* or chief is chosen by four headmen of villages, who must be paid roundly for the service—a simple mode of election to which, it will be seen, Messrs. Cameron and Conkling have no patent right of invention.

When we leave the level regions of the coast the most interesting people encountered is the Peuls or Foulahs, of seemingly Indo-European descent or affiliation, Mahometans, shepherds and cultivators of the soil, among whom the condition of women is much ameliorated, the slave who bears a child to her master is thereby freed, and the house-born slaves form part of the family. Superior to the Yolofs also are the Saracolais or Bambouks, agriculturists and travellers who occasionally reach St. Louis or Goree, of more than ordinary gentleness and chastity, observant, bright, and highly capable of civilization. Their legends, of all those related in this book, exhibit the greatest refinement. The Mandingos have an instinct for commerce, and are more enterprising in the pursuit of it than the tribe just named. They act as intermediaries between the traders of Senegal and Central Africa, and move in caravans. They sometimes till the soil and weave the cotton that they raise, and they are also gold-miners. They have the hospitality of their religion (Islam), their women are not mere beasts of burden, the descent of their rulers is even through the female line, and their music and musical instruments surpass all others. The Bambaras have the military spirit and discipline, and slash their cheeks and temples as a sort of tribal distinction; they have mercenaries to let, and are the Swiss of this part of the Soudan. They maintain a highly organized system of slavery (which means that the institution has its mild sides), and though the wife is the captive of the husband she is said to have no little voice in the affairs of the tribe. They have gold in plenty. Under French rule they make good citizens, and have a distinct rôle in our author's scheme of a progressive military frontier. The Two-colors he likens, in their adaptability, to the Auvergnat or the Savoyard, but their temper is far less amiable. To better themselves they essay willingly long adventures from home. They are proud, conceited, bellicose; do not submit to discipline; are strict Mussulmans, but prefer monogamy; are a growing community and may give trouble to the French. Of the tribes south of the Gambia we need not speak in detail. They have not yet been rescued from fetishism by the movements of population caused by the conquering spirit of Mahometanism, yet wear promiscuously the gris-gris and the Portuguese crosses and medals, with a freedom from prejudice which almost does credit to their intellect.

To the chapter on the Moors of the right bank of the Senegal, a kidnapping and marauding community, only redeemed by their one industry, the gathering of acacia gum, we must refer the reader directly, as well as to the concluding retrospect, in which the opportunities for the growth of the colony and the extension of trade are discussed with much ability. The work is greatly enlivened by the introduction, in connection with every tribe, of one or more legends, historic, mythological, or moral, some of which suggest a European origin, while others have the genuine stamp of first-hand. They would, if collected by themselves, make a very amusing contribution to folk-lore.

A Year in a Lancashire Garden. By Henry A. Bright. Second edition. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.)—There is no pleasanter writing than that of a man of taste about his familiar occupations and amusements, and there is no out-of-doors occupation or amusement to which men of taste have in all ages and countries devoted more of their leisure than that of the cultivation of flowers. It would not be at all too fanciful to say that the progress of civilization is marked by the development of the art of gardening, and that a period in which the cultivation of flowers is brought to its highest perfection will also be one in which the liberal arts and the sciences bring forth their fairest fruits. Indeed, Bacon has refined on this idea by the suggestion that gardening is an art later in development and greater in perfection than even architecture. Mr. Bright's little book is modestly styled by the author a "collection of notes," the result of "a year's work in a garden and of those associations

which a garden is so certain to call up." It was originally privately printed, but the demand for it soon outran the supply, and Mr. Bright was fairly forced into authorship against his inclination. We are glad that his reluctance was overcome, for it would have been a shame that so pleasant a volume should have been lost to the world. The "something private and personal about the whole affair" which caused him to shrink from making his notes into a book, is just what gives them a peculiar charm and naturalness. The only fault we have to find with him is that he has not written more, though, no doubt, it is partly because he has devoted more time and thought to his subject than to the idea of writing about it that everything he says is so well said. His English is pure and simple, but very graceful. It is impossible to quote it, because the book has an atmosphere of its own which gives a peculiar quality to the language that is lost if isolated fragments are read separately. Beginning with December, Mr. Bright carries his readers through the round of the year, month by month and season by season, each season bringing some new plant or flower to perfection, and furnishing an opportunity for literary observations and quotations by the way. Of the horticultural value of the notes it is unnecessary to speak, for though the advancement of horticulture was Mr. Bright's main object, it is not by any means the *cognoscenti* in flowers alone who are concerned in the result. Pleasure in reading the book is compatible with a profound degree of original ignorance on the subject of flowers.

Taxation of Railroads and Railroad Securities. By C. F. Adams, jr., W. B. Williams, and J. H. Oberly, a Committee appointed at a Convention of State Railroad Commissioners, etc. (Published by the *Railroad Gazette*, New York.)—Of the forty-nine pages which compose this interesting pamphlet only eight are assigned to the discussion of the principles of railway taxation, the remainder embracing a digest or summary of the laws relating to this subject now in force in the several States of the Union, and also in Canada, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, and Austria-Hungary. No such comparative exhibit has, we believe, ever been made before. Consequently, from the point of view of a mere compilation, it is of the greatest value to those legislators who care to understand a subject before voting upon it. Direct taxation is perhaps the particular topic of human concern in respect of which this country is most deficient in knowledge. This is proved by the immense contrariety of practice which prevails in the different States. "There is no method of taxation," says the report, "possible to be devised which is not at this time applied to railroad property in some part of this country." As usually happens where guess-work is substituted for scientific knowledge and tests, the worst possible method is the one oftenest adopted, with local variations according to the original bias of the legislature. To enumerate these local variations would require more space than we can allow even to so tempting a mass of folly. As a general rule the attempt is made to apply the principle of "equal taxation of every species of property," and the divergence begins with the definition

of "property," and widens with that of "equal taxation." The question, How shall the State collect from the persons and things moved by railroad (i. e., from the receipts; there being no other fund from which taxes can possibly be paid) a fair share, or some share, of the amount needed for the expenses of State and municipal government? has seldom engaged the attention of American legislative bodies. Instead of it, they have been enquiring, How can we assess railroad property—i. e., how can we arrive at a gross sum, an annual percentage of which shall be exacted for the expenses of government? After due examination of all the methods in vogue, including those of the principal countries of Europe, the Committee considers the system of the State of Michigan the best, the most readily understood, and hence the easiest to substitute in place of other systems. This provides that the real estate of railroads lying outside of their right of way, not exceeding a certain width, shall be taxed as other real estate; that they shall pay, in addition thereto, a certain percentage of their gross mileage receipts according to the number of miles operated by them within the boundaries of the State, and that these taxes shall be in lieu of all other taxes upon the property, capital stock, or evidences of indebtedness of railroads. This is, perhaps, too simple to become immediately popular, but since it is a system actually in force with good results in one of the States of the Union, it is not exposed to the practical man's objection that it is too theoretical to be of any use.

With General Grant in the East. By John M. Keating. With illustrations. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.)—Mr. Keating accompanied Gen. Grant's party through the East, and this book is made up of the letters written by him to the *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* during the trip. In the preface he disclaims all pretence to having written a book of travels, but says it is simply intended to be "corroborative of the beautifully-written reports of Mr. Young" which appeared in the *New York Herald*. In spite of this disclaimer, the greater part of the book consists of an account of what he saw superficially and had superficially explained to him, with occasional mention of Gen. Grant and the receptions given him. Only in the account of their visit to China do Gen. Grant and his receptions become prominent. The purpose of the book, we are informed, is to show the good-feeling towards this country in the different places visited, as evinced by the receptions given to Gen. Grant; but all this plays so small a part that the reader would never suspect it. It is very much what Mr. Keating would have written to the *Telegraph* if he had taken the trip without Gen. Grant, though, of course, he had unusual opportunities for observation in many ways. As the letters appeared originally, they were probably interesting enough; but we protest against the idea that because letters in a newspaper are readable they are consequently worth printing in book-form. Such an expression as "quite a go-ahead man" ought certainly not to have got further than the newspaper. We should suppose that the book would be bought mainly by those enthusiastic admirers who wish to complete their collection of Grant literature.

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